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ABSTRACT

This paper describes what has happened in Cleveland, Ohio, over the past 18 months as various community leaders and organizations have focused on a possible court order to desegregate the city schools. It focuses on the actions and reactions of various groups and the specific activities undertaken to prepare the community. The paper notes several themes involving the community preparation process that may be generalizable to other communities. They are: (1) The established community leadership-- political, business, civic -- becomes involved in community preparation reluctantly, if at all. (2) Religious leadership can initiate activities and encourage others to join but probably cannot be the central organizer of the total preparation process. (3) Labor leadership nationally provides very positive support for community preparation. Local labor leaders may vary from enthusiastic to reluctant followers of national policy. (4) School officials will tend to respond to community-initiated efforts at preparation cooly. (5) A reliable source of unbiased information on the law, desegregation plans and events in other cities is a critical element in the pre-liability phase. Seven other themes are discerned and discussed. (Author/JM)

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Community Preparation for Desegregation

Cleveland
November, 1974 - September, 1976

By

Rachel B. Tompkins
Charles W. Case
R. Jerrald Shive
Joseph E. Rogus

October, 1976

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Author's Note

Footnotes have been omitted to encourage easy reading. Documentation for information in the paper can be found in files maintained by the authors, files of other individuals involved in the preparation process, minutes of meetings of the preparation organizations, and newspaper clippings from the Cleveland Plain Dealer and Cleveland Press.

Drafts of the paper have been reviewed by some of the key participants in the Study Group on Racial Isolation and the Greater Cleveland Project. The final document reflects many of their comments and concerns. The authors, however, assume full responsibility for all interpretations and conclusions.

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CHRONOLOGY

Cleveland Community Preparation for Desegregation

12/12/73	NAACP files Reed v. Rhodes
9/6, 9/7/74	Cleveland Foundation Distribution Committee retreat discusses desegregation. Staff to become familiar with issue
10/15-16/74	Robert Wheeler, Acting Deputy Commissioner, Bureau of School Systems, visits Cleveland at request of Cleveland Foundation
11/21-22/74	Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council (GCIC) sends delegates to National Council of Churches consultation in New York
11/25/74	Memo to Cleveland Foundation Education Subcommittee, Civic Affairs Subcommittee. Staff of the Cleveland Foundation will be keeping up with desegregation
12/74	Foundation assessing its role. Consultants visit Cleveland Foundation to discuss law, demographic analysis and educational issues of desegregation
1/75	GCIC obtains funding from the Ohio Humanities Foundation for conferences on desegregation
1/31/75	Cleveland Foundation memo to civic affairs and education subcommittees. Expend $20,000 for consultants and lawyers
2/3/75	Businessmans Interracial Committee for Community Affairs (BICCA) discussion of desegregation. Suggestion of seminars inviting people in other cities
2/27/75	BICCA resolution to ask Cleveland Foundation for $20,000
3/10/75	BICCA proposal submitted to Cleveland Foundation
3/11/75	Cleveland Foundation grants $20,000 to staff for desegregation study
3/18/75	GCIC first conference on desegregation attended by 87
3/19/75	Arnold Pinkney, President of the School Board, criticizes the conference
4/11/75	BICCA and Foundation begin negotiations about study group
4/29/75	GCIC second desegregation conference. 78 attend
6/11 and 6/16/75	Third GCIC desegregation conference. East and west side of city: 189 attend two meetings
6/16/75	Professor Charles Case, Associate Dean, College of Education, Cleveland State University, agrees to be consultant to study group

6/25/75	Letters from BICCA asking for members of Study Group on Racial Isolation from Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Federation for Community Planning, Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers Association, Nationalities Center, GCIC, League of Women Voters, Cleveland Federation of Labor, Catholic Diocese,Citizen League, and Urban League
7/16/75	Initial meeting of Study Group on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools
8/2/75	All day meeting of Study Group reviewing case law
8/5/75	Squire, Sanders & Dempsey (counsel to Board) memo to school board on "Reed v. Gilligan, Recent Publicity"
9/16/75	GCIC submits proposal to Cleveland Foundation for coalition of organizations to do leadership development and information sharing
9/18/75	Study Group decides to release a statement announcing existence and purpose
10/75	GCIC and other organizations publish "The Bulletin"
10/29/75	Statement released to press by Study Group
10/30-31/75 11/6-7, 11-12 and 13-14/75	Study Group teams visit Boston, Detroit, Denver and Minneapolis
11/24/75	Trial begins in District Court
12/4/75	Study Group shifts focus to Cleveland and discussions with key officials
1/22/76	Registered letters sent by Study Group to all parties to the suit asking for informal discussions
1/76	"Desegregation in Ohio: Background for Current Litigation" published by Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools
2/76	Leonard Stevens hired as Director of GCIC project now named the Greater Cleveland Project
1/31/76	Growth Association sponsors program on desegregation for key business leaders
2/10/76	Nathaniel Jones, Legal Counsel, NAACP, letter to Homer Wadsworth, Executive Director of Cleveland Foundation, criticizing Plain Dealer coverage. Leaked to newspapers
2/24/76	City Council sends motion opposing busing to committee
1/76, 2/76, 3/76, 4/76	Presentations to many community groups by Study Group staff and Greater Cleveland Project staff

1/6, 1/13 1/20, 1/27 2/3, 2/17 3/2, 3/16/76	Study Group meetings with Mayor, Council President, and civic leaders who suggested broadening the organization to include other groups
3/17/76	Study Group informed that Martin Essex and State Board representatives will meet with them in April
3/76	"Citizen Guide to Desegregation" published by the Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools
3/76	Trial concludes with final arguments
3/22/76	Cleveland PTA announces survey of parents regarding busing
5/5/76	Pinkney/Briggs memo to PTA unit presidents criticizing community groups
5/13/76	The Clearinghouse surfaces as a possible third organization
5/13/76	Pinkney criticizes Cleveland Foundation at school board meeting. Berthina Palmer, member of the school board, criticizes Pinkney/Briggs letter
5/18/76	PTA survey released saying most people like schools the way they are: 77% white, 17% non-white response
5/20/76	Cleveland Foundation makes additional grants of $50,000 to Study Group and Greater Cleveland Project. Publicly affirms position
6/7/76	Meeting of The Clearinghouse
8/31/76	District Court Judge Frank Battisti finds school board liable. Orders plans prepared in 90 days

Introduction

Community preparation for school desegregation is a cliche phrase of 1976. Reports urge leaders to take positive action. Inform the community. Get involved. Everything begins to be a bit obscure when specific questions arise. Which leaders should do what? What information should be shared? When should various activities be undertaken? What audiences are important? What are the difficulties of various actions?

While community preparation for desegregation has positive aspects, it also has limitations. Experience has taught that thoughtful attention to the strategies, the timing, and the organization of preparation is necessary. This paper will describe what has happened in Cleveland, Ohio, over the past eighteen months as various community leaders and organizations have focused on a possible court order to desegregate the city schools. It will focus on the actions and reactions of various groups and the specific activities undertaken to prepare the community.

Reed v. Rhodes, the Cleveland suit, was filed by the N.A.A.C.P. on December 12, 1973. The District Court decision finding the Cleveland School Board and the State Board of Education liable for unconstitutional action was handed down on August 31, 1976. The community preparation process began in the winter of 1974-75 and continues today. This paper will conclude with community reaction to the August 31 District Court decision.

The ultimate outcomes of the preparation in Cleveland are not known, indeed, cannot be known at this time. One cannot forecast its effectiveness in maintaining order or developing a good desegregation plan, both of which are ultimate aims of the participants. Those judgments must be reserved for the years and months ahead. What is possible now is

a documentation of the assumptions made by various individuals and groups involved in the preparation process, the ways in which they acted on those assumptions, and the immediate reactions of other individuals and groups. This documentation must occur now because assumptions, actions, and responses are frequently not recorded. They are carried around in people's heads subject to the vagaries of memory and the coloration of intervening events.

This paper is the report of involved participants in the community education process. Case, Rogus, and Shive were consultants to the Study Group on Racial Isolation, one of the groups involved in preparation. Tompkins is Associate Director of the Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools, a statewide organization providing information on a variety of school issues including desegregation. The Council was active in producing information used in community preparation in Cleveland. None of the authors claim to have a disinterested perspective; all, however, have much information to be distilled from their own experiences and access to key actors in the preparation process.

No attempts are made here to suggest that Cleveland is a model to be replicated by every other city. In fact, each city has unique characteristics that will make community preparation somewhat different. Demography, the history of black/white relations, traditions of community leadership, and the position of school officials all have major impact on the possibilities open in community preparation.

Cleveland, as a city, had a population of 750,903 in 1970 with a SMSA total population of 2,063,729. Within the city, 458,036 or 61.0% are white and 287,841 or 38.3% are black. The city is divided by the Cuyahoga River with 98% of non-white residents on the east side and 60% of white residents on the west side. That division is reflected in the suburbs with eastern first ring suburbs having a sizeable minority population and western first ring suburbs almost no minorities. (Appendix A: Cuyahoga County Munici-

palities With Racial Composition Data.)

Cleveland is governed by a mayor, Republican Ralph Perk, in his third two-year term, and a 33 person council elected every two years. All but two Council Members are Democrats. Council President George Forbes is black and a Democrat. Cleveland was the first major American city to have a black mayor when Carl Stokes served for two terms between 1967-1971.

The Cleveland schools enrolled 128,154 students in the fall of 1975. The enrollment was 57.51% black (73,706 students), 39.07% white (50,065 students), 2.88% Spanish surnamed (3,691 students), and .54% other minorities (692 students). There were 12 senior highs, 28 junior highs, 130 elementary schools and 5 special schools in the system. All levels of schools were racially isolated. 106 of 130 elementary schools, 21 of 28 junior highs, and 9 of 12 high schools were more than 90% one race. Overall 91% of all black students attended schools that were more than 90% black.

The demographics of Cleveland indicate a city with a majority white electorate and a majority black school system surrounded by suburbs all but four of which are predominantly white. The city has a sizeable ethnic population of Eastern European origin who have maintained strong neighborhood identifications. Voting statistics from the 1975 election demonstrate that the current mayor's constituency is almost entirely white and that a major segment of his constituency comes from ethnic neighborhoods.

The history of relations between blacks and whites in the city was forever altered by the election of Carl Stokes as Mayor in 1967. Stokes served as the lightening rod for political organization of the black community. Other blacks have been elected to office including Stokes' brother Louis who is the U.S. Congressman from the 21st District, Arnold Pinkney, President of the School Board, and George Forbes, President of City Council.

The already racially divided city became more polarized during the Stokes administration for many reasons. The growing political power of the black constituency, the riots of the late sixties, the mayor's handling of the riots and other issues, the business community's support and then disenchantment with the mayor all played a part in increasing the level of the tension. The Cuyahoga River divides the city racially; it divides the schools racially; but it symbolizes a far greater division in which race, economics, and lifestyle all play a part. There are few if any great unifying institutions or indivduals in the city who can speak to all constituencies.

The superintendent of schools in Cleveland is Paul Briggs, whose 12 year tenure in the system is the longest of any big city superintendent in the country. The school board has seven members elected at large with Arnold Pinkney, one of the two black members, serving as President. During 1975 Pinkney was an unsuccessful mayoral candidate against Ralph Perk.

Briggs and Pinkney insisted publicly and privately throughout the period under study that they were right and should win the case. Their position was and is that intentional segregating actions, if they existed, were all in the past and that under their leadership everything possible short of "massive forced busing" had been done to desegregate the schools. They point with pride to new vocational schools, a supplementary education center and a high percentage of minority administrators and teachers. Community leaders particularly business, labor, and the media have been very strong supporters of the superintendent on all educational issues. Unless specifically asked by the superintendent for assistance on a particular issue, they have tended to stand back and allow school officials to make all decisions.

With these characteristics of Cleveland and its leadership in mind,

several individuals and groups began to be concerned about the possible outcomes of the pending desegregation suit. As school opened in Fall, 1974, Boston erupted. Vague concern crystallized into specific alarm that Cleveland might go the way of Boston. It was not at all clear what steps were necessary to avert disruption and disorder but avoiding it was one major initial aim of all who were involved.

Several assumptions were made by the initiators of the community preparation process in Cleveland about how to maintain order and those assumptions became operating principles for all that followed. The assumptions, of course, were not shared equally by all participants which sometimes caused tensions. The assumptions were:

1. A desegregation order is strongly probable in most major American cities.

2. If community leaders understand the strong likelihood of a desegregation order, they will want to devise ways to cope with possible outcomes.

3. An educated leadership is better able to advise the school board, court, political leaders, and media on development and implementation of a plan if necessary.

4. Understanding plans in other cities will lead to broadened expectations for what a plan in Cleveland might include.

5. If citizens understand the likelihood of a court order and have information about possible alternative actions they will be less fearful and more likely to be calm and peaceful. In other words, false hopes were to be discouraged.

6. Since political and business leaders will be reluctant to be visibly involved, a leadership vacuum will exist. Filling it with a group seeking peaceful responses to whatever the court orders will preempt anti-busing, anti-desegregation groups.

What follows is the story of how people in Cleveland acted on those assumptions.

Early Developments - Pre-Trial

The earliest public initiatives to inform the community about desegregation were undertaken by the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council

(GCIC) in early 1975. GCIC is composed of 700 Protestant and Orthodox churches in the metropolitan Cleveland area, representing some 450,000 members. The Council is governed by a Planning and Review Board composed of 12 denominational executives, representatives of local churches, and representatives of church affiliated agencies. The work of the Council is done by three commissions, one called Church and Society which is responsible for social action programs. Associate Director of GCIC, Joan Campbell, is the staff director of that commission and had responsibility for much of the desegregation work of the Church Council.

Five GCIC delegates attended a National Council of Churches consultation in New York in November, 1974, during which representatives from other cities shared their experiences in implementing desegregation orders. The message from other cities was "we were not as well prepared as we should have been. Too few people understood basic facts about the situation. Too many people thought the problem would go away."

On returning from the consultation, a small group of people from the religious, social agency, and higher education communities were called together by GCIC staff to plan a series of conferences to inform the Greater Cleveland area about desegregation. They secured a grant of $10,000 from the Ohio Humanities Foundation to support the conferences. (Appendix B: Information on GCIC Conferences.)

The initial conference was held March 18, 1975, at Cleveland State University and was co-sponsored by GCIC and the Institute of Urban Studies at Cleveland State University. Speakers and panel members were Dr. Charles Glatt, Professor at Ohio State University and a noted desegregation planner and advocate; Owen Heggs, Attorney, Professor of Law at Case Western Reserve University and President of the Urban League; Joel Turetzky, Supervisor of Race Relations, Memphis Schools; Aubrey McCutcheon, Deputy Superintendent, Detroit Schools, Robert DiGrazia, Police Commissioner, Boston; Spencer Wren,

Director of Denver Council of Churches; and Jean Blatchford, Director of Teacher Education, New Brunswick, New Jersey. The entire session was video taped by a local TV station and an edited version was used in future conferences.

The intention of the conference was to provide an opportunity for community leaders in Cleveland to gain information about what others had done and to develop creative response to desegregation. The keynote speaker, Charles Glatt, however, eloquently pleaded the case for racial justice and charged Cleveland school officials with inaction. The other presentations were focused more on the legal facts and on descriptions of what other cities had done and not done to prepare for desegregation.

School officials were invited to participate in the conference but the superintendent and board president refused on the advice of their attorneys. Newspaper reports following the conference reflected the school officials' attitudes toward the meeting. Board President Arnold Pinkney was reported in the Cleveland Plain Dealer to have labeled the conference as "being organized by an almost entirely white group of sub-urban ministers who have only academic interest in Cleveland". He also belittled the help to be received from Boston and Memphis which had not desegregated very well according to his views.

Pinkney's response labeled GCIC and other religious group efforts as opposition to school officials. For some, that meant they must be pro-NAACP. The fact that GCIC's Executive Director, Reverend Donald Jacobs, was a former NAACP president and strong advocate of desegregation lent strength to the assertion. In addition, Joan Campbell, GCIC Associate Director, was well known in Cleveland as a social activist and supporter of former Mayor Carl Stokes.

The other three conferences went forward without any problems but the established leadership of business, labor, politics, and many civic groups did not attend. The conference did generate considerable interest on the part of the staff of some social agencies in the city and county.

Those staff people continued to meet as an Ad-hoc Coordinating Council talking about their roles individually and in concert. Through the Summer and Fall of 1975, they discussed appropriate next steps to take together. This resulted in the formation of a formal coalition and a proposal to the Cleveland Foundation for funds in October of 1975.

In the meantime, other initiatives were moving forward, at first privately by the staff of the Cleveland Foundation, and then publically in late March, 1975, as the Foundation provided $20,000 for a Study Group on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools convened by the Businessmen's Interracial Committee on Community Affairs (BICCA).

The Cleveland Foundation is the oldest community foundation in America and annually awards grants of $9 million in the areas of civic and cultural affairs, education, health, and social services. There are over 200 separate trusts, administered by a trustees committee composed of the presidents of the five major banks in the city. Membership on the 11-person Distribution Committee which makes decisions about funding is one of the most coveted offices of civic responsibility in Cleveland. The Committee always includes a diverse group of prominent and influential people in the city who lend their credibility and leadership skills to what has been for years a respected and powerful institution in the community. (Appendix C: List of Members of Distribution Committee.)

In September, 1974, the Foundation and its staff were not involved in any way in desegregation related activities. Homer Wadsworth, recently appointed Executive Director, had come to Cleveland from Kansas City where he had both as President of the Kansas City Board of Education and foundation executive been confronted with desegregation of that city's schools. That experience suggested to him that the Cleveland Foundation would find it essential to provide assistance to the community if the court ordered desegregation. The nature and timing of that assistance were the critical

questions in late 1974.

The Foundation Distribution Committee held its annual two-day retreat in September and discussed a variety of general policy issues. During discussions on education issues, note was made of the pending suit brought by the NAACP against the Cleveland schools. The Distribution Committee generally agreed that the staff should become well informed about the desegregation issue.

In October, 1974, Robert Wheeler, Acting Deputy Commissioner, Bureau of School Systems, Department of Health, Education and Welfare was invited by Wadsworth to visit Cleveland to discuss a variety of education issues with school officials and community leaders. Wheeler was a former Kansas City school administrator and knew Wadsworth. Arranging Wheeler's schedule and accompanying him on visits was Richard F. Tompkins, Program Officer with responsibilities in education who had joined the Foundation staff in September, 1974. Tompkins had come to Cleveland from a faculty position at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and had a background that included teaching secondary students as well as other research and planning activities. His responsibilities at the Foundation included reviewing proposals in the areas of health and higher education.

Wheeler's conversations with Paul Briggs and with James Stallings, Executive Director of the NAACP, indicated that considerable distance existed between the parties and a negotiated settlement did not seem possible. Following the Wheeler visit, Tompkins also met with Nathaniel Jones, General Counsel of the NAACP, and found the Cleveland case to be a significant part of an NAACP strategy involving five major Ohio cities.

Two sub committees of the Cleveland Foundation Distribution Committee were apprised of this staff work on desegregation in late November. The staff recommended that the Foundation maintain strict neutrality in the litigation, that it have a "public and private stance of active interest and

concern" and that staff continue to undertake "analysis of (the) legal, political and educational climate to anticipate a response."

More active Foundation efforts to inform themselves continued in December and January with experts invited to town to discuss various aspects of the desegregation issue with the staff and Distribution Committee members. The consultants were Burke Marshall, Professor of Law, Yale, and former Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights; Allan Schmidt, Director of the Harvard Center for Computer Graphics (an expert in demography); Daniel Levine, Professor of Education at the University of Missouri at Kansas City; and William Grant, education writer of the Detroit Free Press.

As a result of this work, the staff recommended to sub committees of the Distribution Committee on January 31, 1975, that $20,000 be spent for legal counsel to follow and report on the trial (then scheduled for March), for additional consultants, and for information preparation on desegregation in the North.

A few days later on February 3, 1975, the General Committee of the Businessmen's Interracial Committee for Community Affairs (BICCA) decided to study the possibility of holding seminars for key leaders on desegregation. Their hope was to invite in people from cities under court order who might talk about what plans were successful. A major concern expressed was that public indifference in Cleveland could lead to another Boston. BICCA was an interracial group that had come together with Cleveland Foundation funding in the 1960's to plan strategies for maintaining racial peace in Cleveland. They had, in 1968, made a series of recommendations to school officials for improving the quality of education. The first on the list of 25 was to develop "quality integrated education". BICCA contained within its membership many key black and white leaders of the city including the Superintedent of Schools and the Executive Director of the NAACP.

On February 27, the Education Subcommittee of BICCA concluded that with the exception of GCIC "the principal opinion forming agencies in Cleveland were evading the issues." They passed a unanimous resolution to ask the Cleveland Foundation for $20,000 to develop a committee to study desegregation. The text of their resolution is:

> Resolved that BICCA recommends that the Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation be petitioned for an emergency grant and that it appoint a study group or committee to develop alternative means by which substantial greater desegregation can be achieved in Cleveland, short of massive mandatory busing. This study group or committee shall be instructed to report its study and conclusions to the Foundation and the general public.

The BICCA proposal arrived at the Cleveland Foundation one day before the Distribution Committee met. On the agenda for March 11 was the Foundation staff recommendation that $20,000 be spent on Foundation staff work in desegregation. While the thrust of the BICCA proposal and the staff proposal appear the same, there were differences in intent and those differences contributed to the tensions of the preparation process. BICCA wanted a select group to get together and study other desegregation plans in order to make "suggestions to the Cleveland School Board" or "react to the Board's plans" depending on the timing of the suit. They clearly saw a close relationship between the select committee and school officials.

The Foundation staff, on the other hand, saw school officials as one adversary in a lawsuit of uncertain outcome. A negotiated settlement did not seem probable. The only appropriate and useful role the staff saw for the Foundation was to remain neutral in the lawsuit and to foster community understanding of the law and all possible outcomes of the litigation. While the formation of a select group of established community leaders to study desegregation was an attractive strategy to Foundation staff, they did not think the group should be limited to providing advice to school officials. If school officials lost the suit, an unattached group could serve as middle

ground where a sensible strategy for the entire community could be devised.

Following the Distribution Committee's approval of $20,000 to the Foundation staff, a series of meetings between the staff and BICCA finally reached a compromise position. On June 25, Rolland Smith, Chairman of BICCA wrote letters to 11 organizations asking them to "formally designate an individual board member to the study group on racial isolation in the public schools". The letter spelled out the purpose of the group:

> The study group would be charged to remain strictly neutral in the pending court proceedings between the NAACP and the Cleveland Public Schools and would not issue any report or statement until after a court decision is reached. The charge of the study group would be to analyze the developing legal, political, and educational climate so that the community will be in a better position to respond to the ultimate court decision and assist in lessening the educational and social disruption that might follow any given decision.
>
> The Cleveland Foundation staff will assist BICCA staff in providing basic staff support to the study group. A grant from The Cleveland Foundation will provide consultant services to the study group to assist in understanding the underlying issues, to detail and estimate the probability of various outcomes, and to anticipate positive courses of action for any given outcome. In addition to a weekly session through the summer and early fall, each member of the study group will be asked to spend approximately three days with staff visiting another city that has faced a major desegregation decision.

The eleven organizations were the Greater Cleveland Growth Association (Chamber of Commerce), Federation for Community Planning, Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers Association, Nationalities Center, GCIC, League of Women Voters, Cleveland Federation of Labor, Catholic Diocese, Citizens League, Urban League, and Jewish Community Federation. Three characteristics determined the organizations selected. First, each was metropolitan wide or city wide and had a large constituency or membership throughout the area. Second, each had boards of directors which included established leaders of the community. Third, the organization could have taken no position in the litigation. The idea was that the study group itself would be small and

"blue ribbon" in nature but that each of its members would have access to a much larger organization or constituency with which information could be shared. Asking organizations to nominate also eliminated the need for either BICCA or the Foundation to appoint individuals to the group. Table 1 lists the original members of the Study Group.

Table 1

Initial Membership of the Study Group

Name and Position		Organization
Adler, Richard H.	Executive V.P.	Greater Cleveland Growth Assn.
Ault, Charles R.	Trustee	Citizens' League of Cleveland
Armstrong, Arthur	Chairman/Ed. Sub.	Businessmens' Interracial Committee
Bielen, Casimir	Member of Board	Nationalities Service Center
Blair, Claude	Chairman	Greater Cleveland Growth Assn.
Bond, Robert L.	Executive Director	Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers
Chapman, George	Member/Dist. Com.	Cleveland Foundation
Elliott, Daniel	Chairman of Board	Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers
Flanigan, Sr. F.	Secy. for Education	Catholic Diocese of Cleveland
Gray, Alvin	Chairman/Com. Rel.	Jewish Community Federation
Gray, Thomas	Member/Human Rel.	Federation for Community Planning
Heffern, Gordon	Member	BICCA
Heggs, Owen	President	Urban League of Cleveland
Jacobs, Rev. Donald	Executive Director	Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council
Murphy, Edward	Member of the Board	United Torch Services
Rieger, Howard	Director/Com. Rel.	Jewish Community Federation
Schroeder, Russell	Field Representative	Cleveland AFL-CIO
Smith, Rolland	President	BICCA
Williams, Earl	Executive Director	Community Relations Board

Staff

Richard F. Tompkins	Cleveland Foundation
Steven A. Minter	Cleveland Foundation
Charles Lucas, Jr.	BICCA
Charles Case	Consultant
Matthew Hatchadorian	Thompson, Hine & Flory (Attorney)
David Parham	Thompson, Hine & Flory (Attorney)

The first meeting of the study group was July 16, 1975. Prior to that time, Associate Dean Charles Case of Cleveland State University accepted a position as consultant to the study group to develop a curriculum, select reading, invite speakers, and arrange visits for the group to other cities. He was also to develop papers on the research that ought to be done before a decision is reached. Case asked Professor Joseph Rogus and Associate Professor R. Jerrald Shive also from Cleveland State to assist him with the staff work. All three professors had begun their careers as public school teachers; Rogus had served as a principal and assistant superintendent in the Dayton schools as they developed desegregation plans; Case had been involved in implementing Rochester's voluntary city-suburban desegregation plans; and Shive had served as a consultant to school officials concerned with desegregation.

Retained as legal counsel to the study group was the firm of Thompson, Hine & Flory, selected in part because they had no ties to the desegregation litigation and also because they were legal counsel to the Cleveland Foundation. The attorney assigned major responsibility was David Parham. Parham, an Ohio native, was a recent graduate of the Case Western Reserve Law School in Cleveland. He had no previous connection with desegregation litigation.

Joining Richard Tompkins from the Cleveland Foundation in coordinating staff work for the Study Group was Steven A. Minter, Program Officer, with major responsibilities in social services. Minter had returned to his home town in early 1975 after four years as Commissioner of Welfare for the State of Massachusetts. Prior to going to Massachusetts, he had graduated from local institutions of higher education and spent several years working at various levels in the Cuyahoga County Welfare Department concluding as Commissioner.

The first meeting of the Study Group was devoted largely to a discussion of the appropriate role of the group. At first, representatives of the Growth Association argued that it was not appropriate for any group to be discussing school desegregation prior to or during pending litigation. Some members of the group were also concerned that the group might become involved in the actual litigation or raise issues in the community prematurely. Others conveyed concerns expressed privately by Superintendent Briggs that such a group was unnecessary and that some members of this particular group had been his adversaries and critics.

Ultimately, the members of the Study Group agreed that it was appropriate and vitally important for them to understand the law, to estimate the probability of various outcomes, and to anticipate possible courses of action for any outcome of the litigation.

The curriculum presented to the Study Group began at an all day session on August 2 with an emphasis on the case law since 1954. Recommended reading was the U.S. Civil Rights Commission report "Twenty Years After Brown." The cases were presented chronologically with emphasis on key legal precedents. Each case was presented in two parts. The first part focused on the findings relative to segregatory intent and the second part on the findings relative to remedy. Participants were provided written summaries prior to each presentation. The presentations were given verbally with visual support (transparencies and chart-pak materials had been prepared). The participants were invited to question or comment at any time during the presentations and did so freely.

This was the standard format used in substantive presentations to the Study Group at its bi-weekly meetings. Table 2 summarizes the presentations made, some of which took more than one session. Additional reading materials were provided and the standard complaint from members at each meeting was they they were being inundated with paper.

Table 2

Substantive Presentations to Study Group

1. Case Law - Brown to present
2. Metropolitan remedies - The prospect
3. Case studies - Boston, Detroit, Denver, Minneapolis
4. School desegregation cases in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit
5. Summary of Ohio Public School Structure: Authority of State and Local Boards of Education
6. Federal laws - E.S.A.A.
7. Complaint in Reed v. Rhodes and first response of Defense
8. Speeches by Superintendent Briggs on Cleveland schools and plans for desegregation
9. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reports on communities after desegregation
10. Presentation by Robert DiGrazia, Police Commissioner, Boston
11. Presentation by Robert Dentler, Dean, Boston University School of Education and court-appointed expert in Morgan v. Kerrigan
12. Achievement levels in Cleveland schools
13. Absences, dropouts, and suspensions in Cleveland schools and nationally
14. Weekly written summaries of the trial and oral presentations on highlights
15. Presentations by attorney for the school board and NAACP
16. What federal laws have said about third site programs
17. Desegregation plans in Atlanta, Houston, Milwaukee and St. Louis
18. Presentation by James O'Meara, head of the Cleveland Federation of Teachers (AFT affiliate)
19. Common components of desegregation plans
20. White flight
21. Common parent concerns
22. Neighborhood strategies
23. Business partnerships and higher education partnerships in Boston

There was no public announcement made about the formation of the Study Group. Few in town knew it existed. However, on August 5, 1975, School Board attorneys presented a memorandum to the School Board entitled "Reed v. Gilligan, Recent Publicity". The memorandum was released to the press and became the first major publicity about the suit since the March 18 GCIC conference. Among other things the memo called Dr. Glatt's speech "inflamatory" and said that "a number of self-appointed groups have been encouraged to inject their own opinions into the lawsuit". The memo went on to say that all the "misinformation" about the lawsuit required a positive reaffirmation of the school board's position. With the memo, school officials signaled their intention to maintain the position that they should win the suit and that any conversation by community leaders about desegregation, even learning about what others had done was an affront to that position.

Some Study Group members were informed privately that the superintendent might like to make a presentation. After lengthy discussion, the Study Group decided to wait until they were better informed and had constructive suggestions to offer. They also decided to invite all parties rather than any one. The trial was now scheduled for early November and the Study Group did not want to be put in a position of attempting to develop a negotiated settlement.

Site visits to Boston, Denver, Detroit, and Minneapolis were made by teams of Study Group members in October and early November. For most, that was the first opportunity to see and talk with a broad spectrum of educational, political, and business leadership in a city undergoing desegregation.

During the visitations the Study Group members had an opportunity to interview twenty to twenty-five individuals from that community. Typically the individuals interviewed included school personnel, school board members, police personnel, businessmen, church leaders, court representatives, black

community leaders, higher education personnel, news media personnel, anti-busing leaders, parents and personnel from social agencies and community organizations. The discussions focused on the roles played by different individuals and groups in the community prior to litigation, during litigation, and during implementation. Those interviewed were most candid and anxious to share their experiences, positive and negative.

Since the Study Group now had information to share with other community groups and the trial was about to begin, a public announcement of the group's existence and purpose was crucial. A draft statement had been circulating for comment for several weeks triggered by a Cleveland Magazine article on school desegregation which mentioned BICCA and the Study Group. The final statement was released as an ad in the Plain Dealer and the Press on October 31, 1975. (Appendix D: Statement of Study Group.)

The Trial

The trial began on November 24, 1975, and is a classic northern school desegregation suit. The central question in the suit was what caused the segregation of schools that all parties stipulated existed in Cleveland. The NAACP presented evidence intended to show that school officials intentionally segregated the schools through use of optional zones, drawing of attendance zones, mobile classrooms, intact busing, and site location for new buildings. School officials rebutted that evidence by presenting alternative reasons for decisions on boundaries, optional zones, mobile classrooms, and site location. Usually they argued the decisions reflected concerns for safety or were taken mainly to relieve overcrowding.

School officials contended that they observed a neighborhood school policy and carefully followed state law by locating schools for the convenience of the majority of students. Much evidence was also introduced about positive steps taken by school officials to desegregate faculty and administrators and to develop part time integrating experiences for students.

State education officials were charged by the NAACP with failure to support and encourage desegregation of the Cleveland schools. The Attorney General, at the request of the State Board of Education, had delivered an opinion in 1956 which said state education officials had the authority to withhold funds from districts that did not uphold the U.S. Constitution. State officials had not investigated Cleveland to discover if unconstitutional segregation existed, nor had they ever withheld funds from any district.

State officials rebutted this evidence by arguing that they did not interpret the Attorney General's opinion as giving them authority to investigate. They interpreted the ruling to mean that when a court found the schools in any district segregated, the state was obligated to terminate funds unless the violation was corrected. State officials also presented evidence as to many activities undertaken to persuade districts to desegregate.

The trial concluded with final arguments in mid-March more than three months after it began. The opinion was anticipated no earlier than June.

Preparation Activities During The Trial

The Study Group decided after returning from visits to the four cities in early November that its next effort should focus on sharing what it had learned with membership of the organizations represented within the group and any other interested groups, including neighborhood associations, media and political figures in the city. The consultants to the group prepared a series of presentation formats on the topics in Table 2.

From early December to April 30, 1976, Case, Rogus, and Shive made over 100 presentations sharing what they had learned with community groups, agencies, churches, businesses, and labor groups. Table 3 represents a partial list of those organizations sponsoring presentations. The content of speeches was primarily a review of the law and a summary of desegregation plans and planning processes in the cities visited by the Study Group. The standard format was a speech of 20-30 minutes followed by an equal amount of time devoted to questions from the audience.

The Ad-Hoc Coordinating Council that grew out of the planning for the GCIC sponsored conferences became headquarters for scheduling the speakers. The Council met regularly into the Fall of 1975 and also began production of a newsletter called "The Bulletin" designed to provide information to average citizens on various desegregation topics. Over the next five months, five issues of "The Bulletin" were produced and sent to 15,000 people. (Appendix E: "The Bulletin" Nos. 1,2,3,4,5.)

In order to expand the speakers service, the consultants for the Study Group provided training and packets of information to about fifteen members of the Ad-Hoc Council. The trained agency staff people provided background information to at least another hundred groups. Assigning speakers to groups became a delicate task, for judgments had to be made about whether a group would accept and believe information about the law from someone who is not a lawyer or about educational matters from someone who was not an educator. No matter how expert the agency staff people became on particular issues, credibility was always a necessary consideration.

In March, 1976, the Citizen Guide to Desegregation was published by the Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools, a statewide organization providing information on public education issues. The material in the Citizen Guide was an edited version of that prepared by Professors Case, Rogus, and Shive for the Study Group and some of the material that had been included in "The Bulletin" of the Ad-hoc Coordinating Council written by Rachel Tompkins.

Contents of the booklet are:

Chapter 1: Community Education and Planning--The Lessons From Other Cities

Chapter 2: The Constitution and School Desegregation

Chapter 3: Recent Court Cases Bearing on Regional School Integration

Chapter 4: Techniques of Desegregation

Chapter 5: Outcomes of Desegregation for Students and Communities

Table 3

Organizations Sponsoring Presentations

TRW
Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers Association
Jewish Community Federation
YWCA
Disciples of Christ
Community Information Service
Presbyterian Ministers Council
United Church of Christ
Shaker Heights League of Women Voters
YMCA
Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools
National Association of Social Workers
Ludlow Community Association
Ward 16 Democratic Club
Central Kinsman Area Council
Martha Holden Jennings Foundation
Friendly Town Society
Cuyahoga Community College
Collinwood Association
County League of Women Voters
Greater Cleveland Junior League
Greater Cleveland Nurses Association
First Baptist Church
Center for Human Services
Cleveland Heights School District
Ministerial Alliance
Forest Hills Presbyterian Church
City Club of Cleveland
Nationalities Service Center
Urban League
Plain Dealer
Cleveland Press
Call and Post
WWWE
M 105
Cleveland State University (10 classes)
WEWS-RV
WJW-TV
WCLV
WERE
Cleveland Citizens League
Unitarian Church
WSEM
WKYC-TV
Office of Economic Opportunity
Sun Press
AFL-CIO
Community Relations Board, City of Cleveland
Catholic Diocese of Cleveland
Federation for Community Planning
Greater Cleveland Growth Association
Cleveland Foundation Study Group on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools
Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council

Chapter 6: Highlights of the Desegregation Process in Boston

Chapter 7: Highlights of the Desegregation Process in Denver

Chapter 8: Highlights of the Desegregation Process in Detroit

Chapter 9: Highlights of the Desegregation Process in Minneapolis

The Guides were distributed at a nominal cost, and by May of 1976, about five thousand were in circulation in the Greater Cleveland community. The "little brown book," as it is called, became the curriculum for groups trying to understand the issues in desegregation and what might come.

The Ad-Hoc Coordinating Council, primarily representing religious organizations and social agencies, wanted to continue providing written information, expand the speakers bureau and locate and educate grass roots neighborhood leaders. As a result, they submitted to the Cleveland Foundation, in the name of GCIC, a proposal for $250,250 to train clergy and lay people in key neighborhoods, to provide information to various audiences, and coordinate activities of member organizations. The proposal envisioned the creation of a formal coalition with a staff director, secretary, and neighborhood staff. The neighborhood staff would be existing neighborhood workers or member organizations whose time would be bought for desegregation education.

The proposal was funded in February at a level of $76,850 over two years for a staff director and secretary. Funding for neighborhood workers was removed because the Foundation felt it was premature given the absence of a liability finding by the court.

During this process of developing a final proposal, a permanent link was built between the Study Group and the Ad-Hoc Coordinating Counil. Donald Jacobs, Executive Director of GCIC, became Chairman of the Council and Co-Chairman of a Study Group subcommittee dealing with neighborhood response. Tensions had always existed between the

two groups, partly because each felt the other overemphasized its importance. The Study Group was convinced that educating key leaders was the most important thing to do. GCIC and the social agencies were equally convinced that without strong informed neighborhood leadership, peaceful implementation was an impossibility.

Part of the tensions grew from the usual conflict between corporate and fiscal interests and social agency interests. The Study Group came to realize that it had little access to grass roots organizations and neighborhood groups and social agency people came to understand that they had little access to board rooms. The increasingly overlapping membership in the organizations also blunted antagonisms between them.

When the Ad-Hoc Coordinating Council hired Leonard Stevens as Executive Director, he became a member of the Study Group. Stevens came to Cleveland with broad experience in urban education, most recently as Special Assistant to Harvey S cribner when he was Superintendent of New York City schools. Other links also developed between the groups as the Council continued to schedule most speaking engagements for Study Group consultants and the trained agency staff people. The Ad-Hoc Coordinating Council after funding, formally organized itself into the Greater Cleveland Project (Appendix F: Greater Cleveland Project Statement of Purpose and List of Membership.)

The creation of GCP as a distinct entity separate from any of the participating organizations was an important event. The initiative of the Interchurch Council had started the coming together of groups, but the Council could not continue as the leader if the group was to have credibility throughout the city. GCIC was viewed as pro-integration, anti-school system, or pro-busing. Domination by GCIC also hindered the emergence of a real coalition from the collection of groups. The

church leaders recognized this and supported the creation of a separate group with an organizational structure in which each of the agencies had a vote and a voice. That task of building a real coalition consumed much of the energy of the Project during the spring of 1975.

The organizational structure of the Project includes a General Assembly in which each participating organization has one vote, a Steering Committee of 11 people elected by the General Assembly, and four Task Groups which initiate most of the work of the coalition. The Task Group on Plans and Strategies developed an overall "Blueprint for Action" to serve as a planning tool to identify and mobilize needed resources and to coordinate GCP activities with participating organizations. The Task Group on Structure and Organization worked to expand Project membership to additional groups and organizations. The Task Group on Community Action developed plans for grass roots activities in neighborhoods. The Task Group on Information Dissemination worked to produce informational documents on school desegregation for broad public dissemination.

As the trial proceeded in November, December, and January, the Study Group focused more and more on Cleveland and meeting with key leaders around the city. Three sub-committees were formed: Educational Alternatives, Community Relations, and Neighborhood Response. (Appendix G: Responsibilities of Committees.) Community Relations was very active, meeting with the mayor, council members, media executives, and black leaders. Neighborhood Response served as a link both to the Greater Cleveland Project and to individual organizations conducting educational programs and met periodically to keep informed about the range of educational activities taking place in the city.

Educational Alternatives was never a very active committee. Its charge was to review various educational components that might become

part of a desegregation plan. Two major problems surfaced in trying to develop a program for the committee. First, looking at alternatives implied writing a plan. Without a liability finding, many were uncomfortable with that implication. Second, only one member of the committee was an education professional, and there was strong sentiment that education should be left to the educators.

During February and March, the meetings of the Community Relations Subcommittee with political and civic leaders raised the question of broadening the membership of the Study Group. Black leaders like George Forbes, Council President, and W. O. Walker, Editor of the Call & Post, the black newspaper, thought the representation of black leaders was weak. The PTA and other parent groups were not represented. Ethnic groups had minimal membership. The conversations also raised the possibility of some rapprochement between school officials and the NAACP. Another area discussed was the existence of two groups--The Study Group and the Greater Cleveland Project. One proposed solution was a single group encompassing the existing groups, black leaders, parents, and any other interests that might have been excluded in the original make-up of the organizations.

Study Group members and staff encouraged active consideration of expansion or reorganization of the groups. Their concern was that any new formulation should continue to be neutral in the litigation and should focus on broad based community preparation and education for any possible outcome of the court.

On January 22, 1976, the Study Group wrote to each of the parties to the suit requesting that they meet for informal discussion of desegregation related issues. Local school officials and the NAACP did not respond; the State Board did respond and a meeting was held in April

with the State Superintendent, the Chairman of the State Board, and others. A second letter was sent to local school officials and the NAACP both of whom responded by sending their attorneys.

During the trial, several key organizations began to develop educational programs for their membership. Following an all-day meeting on January 31, 1976, for a select group of business leaders, the Greater Cleveland Growth Association scheduled eight three-hour sessions for top and middle management in the Cleveland business community. Each session was attended by twenty-five to fifty people, and the standard presentation was on the law and what other cities have done to respond. Cleveland Trust, the city's largest bank, prepared a 30 minute film for use with its employees which emphasizes the law and events in Minneapolis, Memphis, and Detroit leading up to desegregation.

The Cleveland Labor Federation scheduled two meetings for leaders and rank and file, where Professors Case and Shive made presentations and the Citizen Guide was circulated. The AFL-CIO national position of support for peaceful processes of desegregation was made clear to local union representatives. In May, several labor leaders from Cleveland were in Washington to hear George Meany's presentation of labor support for desegregation, including busing if necessary.

The Catholic Diocese under the leadership of Bishop James Hickey and Sister Francis Flanigan, Secretary of Education, formed a committee on desegregation. The bishop had issued a statement when the trial began urging peaceful response and re-stating again the churches' moral commitment to racial justice. Now the Church issued strong administrative guidelines for acceptance of students to Catholic schools. The bishop continued throughout the months leading up to the decision to publicly and privately

commit the considerable energies and resources of the church to the spreading of information and the urging of calm. The diocese and related organizations have purchased almost two thousand copies of the Citizen Guide in the six months since it was issued.

As the trial progressed and after it concluded, educational programs that had mainly been focused on established leadership began to be held in neighborhoods. The Community Relations Board worked closely with citizen groups in a few key neighborhoods providing information on the law and events in other cities. The YWCA held meetings in its branch offices in the city and suburbs. The Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers Association also sponsored educational meetings. All of these groups as members of the Greater Cleveland Project used the speakers service and information provided by GCP. The Project itself began to move more vigorously to bring neighborhood organizations into the coalition. One of the first to join was the West Park Community Council which had held educational meetings in the west side community and developed a written statement of its concerns regarding a possible desegregation order.

Anti-desegregation and anti-busing sentiment surfaced in the community from time to time during and after the trial. Mayor Perk had attempted to intervene in the suit on behalf of the city as the trial began arguing that the city would be drastically affected by any remedy and therefore should be a party to the suit. The judge denied the city's petition to intervene. City Councilman Basil Russo introduced a resolution opposing busing in February which was tabled through the leadership of George Forbes. Councilman Russo ran for Congress in the 20th District which includes most of the western and southwestern city and suburbs. He talked a great deal of his opposition to busing but ran fourth in large field in the primary in June.

Anti-busing groups formed and held meetings in Euclid and Brecksville, two suburbs of Cleveland. Little anti-busing activity on the part of citizens occured in the city. Letters to the editor would appear sporadically supporting or opposing busing.

Newspaper, radio, and T.V. coverage of the trial, the efforts of community groups, and the desegregation matter altogether was extensive. On the whole, parties to the suit and leaders of all interests in the community give the media high marks for its coverage. The one exception was a story in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on Judge Frank Battisti and his previous involvement in politics in Youngstown. Several ties between the judge and Nathaniel Jones, General Counsel for the NAACP, who is also from Youngstown, were noted in the story. Jones objected strenuously in a letter to Cleveland Foundation officials to what he viewed as an attempt to suggest the judge was prejudiced.

The editorial position of the Plain Dealer and the Press underwent a gradual shift in emphasis from 1973 to 1976 as litigation proceeded and a finding of liability was reached. Editorials emphasized opposition to busing and support for Superintendent Briggs in 1973. In 1976, while still offering strong support to the superintendent, editorials emphasized peaceful response to whatever the court outcomes were (Appendix H: Sample Editorials).

Preparation Encounters Controversy

After the trial ended in mid-March, both the Study Group and the Greater Cleveland Project continued to meet, and the speakers service was in great demand until May. The first week in May, the community preparation efforts came under severe attack from school officials both publicly and privately.

Attorneys for the school board called members of the Distribution Committee of the Cleveland Foundation to complain on behalf of school officials about the activities of the groups funded by the Cleveland

Foundation. According to the attorneys, the presentations to community groups were not accurate and might prejudice the pending litigation. The senior school attorney also called David Parham, attorney for the Study Group, and complained that the presentations were not accurate and were inflammatory.

On May 5, Paul Briggs and Arnold Pinkney sent a letter to PTA Unit presidents and other parent groups attributing a drop in kindergarten pre-enrollment to confusion created by the speeches on desegregation (Appendix I: Briggs/Pinkney Memo). Newspaper reports indicated that enrollments were down all over the city. In a few places, principals said that parents were waiting the court decision to decide whether to enroll their children. Many people, however, thought the children just were not there. (Note: Fall enrollment, 1976, indicates a drop of only 400 in kindergarten enrollment, somewhat less than previous years. The overall enrollment decline is 5,448 or 4.2% from 128,154 to 122,706 which is not substantially different from previous years.)

At the May 13 School Board meeting, Pinkney attacked the Foundation for spending money on "what I think is the responsibility of the Board of Education. Until we fail, I will fight anyone trying to usurp the power of the elected board." At the same meeting, board member Berthina Palmer objected to the letter to PTA presidents because she had never seen it before it was sent out. She took "strong exception" to the portion of the statement criticizing the community preparation and blaming it for the drop in kindergarten pre-enrollment (Appendix J: Statement of Berthina Palmer). Pinkney responded that the letter had been a personal one from Mr. Briggs and him and was not intended to be board policy.

On the same day, the Plain Dealer reported that a third organization for community preparation, The Clearinghouse, was surfacing which would be directed by Lee Howley, Jr. Howley, the son of a prominent Cleveland attorney, is president of the Cleveland Public Library Board. All members of the library board are appointed by the School Board. The Plain Dealer editorially supported The Clearinghouse and said Howley was a good choice. The Clearinghouse's announced purpose was to bring together parties to the suit with existing community organizations to take action for peaceful inplementation.

On the surface, The Clearinghouse seemed to be attempting to carry out the recommendations various people had made to the Study Group about expanding membership and coordinating existing efforts. Howley particularly emphasized in public statements that the group would recruit black leaders, parents, ethnics, and parties to the suit. He indicated this would not be a group to study and inform, but would take action. The leadership of the Greater Cleveland Project and the Study Group were concerned that The Clearinghouse would not maintain the neutrality in community preparation. The test of The Clearinghouse's neutrality for the two existing groups would be whether it could bring all parties to the suit together. The first meeting of the new group was called for June 7.

In the meantime, the Cleveland Foundation responded to the public and private attacks on the groups it had funded with a short letter to the editor of the Plain Dealer from the chairman of the Distribution Committee, re-stating the Foundation's neutrality in the litigation and its commitment to provide accurate information to the community. They responded more firmly on May 20 at the annual meeting of the Foundation. First, the Distribution Committee unanimously approved new grants of $22,500 to the Greater Cleveland Project and $28,000 to the Study Group to continue and expand their activities. Second, both the executive

director of the Foundation and the chairman of the Distribution Committee stated in public remarks to those attending the annual meeting that the Foundation position was firm. As Homer Wadsworth said, "Although there is hardly any room for being neutral, that is where the Foundation must be." Third, the Foundation's written annual report reported its desegregation grants as among the most significant made during the year. It concluded: "There is no matter of greater importance facing Cleveland today nor more worthy of the thoughtful attention of its leadership."

On June 7, when The Clearinghouse met, none of the parties to the litigation suit showed up. Almost everyone else there was connected to the Study Group or the Greater Cleveland Project and said a third organization would be duplicative. The Study Group had analyzed the proposed structure and purpose of The Clearinghouse and circulated a memo to all those invited critical of several aspects of the group (Appendix K: Study Group Memo of June 2). The Clearinghouse opened an office and Howley continued to have meetings with people, but little real momentum developed behind the organization.

Summer of 1976 in Cleveland was quiet. The Study Group continued to meet and discuss various alternative remedies used in St. Louis, Houston, and Milwaukee. The Greater Cleveland Project increased its membership to thirty-seven and began to draw in neighborhood groups. The court's decision was anticipated in June and then July and finally came on August 31, 1976.

Both the Cleveland and the State School Boards were found responsible for unconstitutionally segregating the schools. All parties were given ninety days to develop plans to desegregate. The court announced that it intended to appoint a special master and an advisory panel and asked all parties to make recommendations as to the compositon, size, and working procedures of the panel.

Immediate community response was calm. The religious leaders of the community--Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant--took out full page ads urging peaceful acceptance. The Greater Cleveland Project also took out ads urging acceptance and a focus on developing a sensible plan. The Mayor was the only public official to use the occasion to condemn busing. Newspaper editorials in both papers called for orderly acceptance and plan development (Appendix L: GCP Advertisement).

The School Board voted unanimously to appeal. The State Board also decided to appeal. Local board attorneys sought and achieved a stay in planning until the appeal could be heard. The NAACP has appealed the stay.

Community reaction was extraordinarily low key. Most people said that they expected the ruling and were not surprised. Attention focused almost immediately on what the plan would be and how it would be developed.

Themes

Some themes occur throughout the community preparation process prior to a court decision in Cleveland that may occur in other localities as well. The themes suggest certain limitations and possibilities for community preparation. They are in no way prescriptions for other cities but they do outline the issues to be considered when thinking about community preparation.

1. The established community leadership--political, business, civic--becomes involved in community preparation reluctantly, if at all.

The reluctance stems from a variety of sources, but two prominent ones were evident in Cleveland. First, most businessmen and politicians desire to avoid a controversial issue, unless some clear resolution seems possible. There are no clear solutions for how to desegregate a majority black school system that guarantee minimizing conflict. In short, there was simply no way to become involved with the issue and

be sure that one could come away looking good. Prudence dictated doing nothing.

Second, business and community leaders did not want to appear to be in opposition to the position of the school superintendent. Civic leaders are generally given credit for bringing Paul Briggs to the city as superintendent. They have supported his policies almost without exception. For example, the annual report of the superintendent to the community is made at a luncheon sponsored by the Greater Cleveland Growth Association where business leaders usually laud Paul Briggs.

Superintendent Briggs continues to insist even in the face of the adverse District Court opinion that he has done nothing wrong and that the courts will ultimately vindicate him. (Appendix M: Cleveland Press interview, Friday, October 8, 1976.) He has opposed all existing community preparation efforts. In the face of this stand by Briggs, business and community leaders have found it difficult to take a position independent of the superintendent, even if also independent of the NAACP. Not to join sides with the superintendent somehow seemed to be opposing him.

2. Religious leadership can initiate activities and encourage others to join but probably cannot be the central organizer of the total preparation process.

The Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council was the first organization to state strongly the need for preparation. It initiated activities at a time when all other organizations sat back and waited. It invited others to join in a broad based effort to keep the community informed and to urge orderly calm responses to any outcome of the court. The vision of Donald Jacobs, Joan Campbell, and others was that a diverse group of organizations which included the community's top leadership would join to develop a peaceful, sensible response to whatever came from the court process.

Religious leaders in Cleveland were hampered as they may be in other

cities by the image they have developed over the years. Most church leaders have taken strong, positive moral positions on racial justice which shorthands very simply into "pro-busing". In many cities, as in Cleveland, church positions on race, poverty, and the responsibilities of schools to poor children have frequently placed them at odds with school officials. In some quarters, the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council wears the tag of pro-NAACP, anti-school system no matter what it says or does. It was impossible for it to be the central rallying focus for all community preparation. The role that the Interchurch Council did play in Cleveland and that religious leaders can play elsewhere is to initiate action, to make it legitimate for others to talk about desegregation, and to prod other individuals and organizations to act.

3. Labor leadership nationally provides very positive support for community preparation. Local labor leaders may vary from enthusiastic to reluctant followers of national policy.

AFL-CIO leadership in Cleveland moved slowly and cautiously in organizing educational meetings for labor rank and file. Despite the strong position taken by George Meany, local labor union members as a group are likely to feel threatened by many parts of the civil rights movement including school desegregation. Its benefits to them and their children may not seem clear.

An additional item making a unified labor position even more difficult in Cleveland is the fact that teachers are members of the American Federation of Teachers. At issue in the Cleveland suit, as in many other cities, is reassignment of teachers to eliminate the racial identifiability of schools.

4. School officials will tend to respond to community-initiated efforts at preparation cooly, in part because they are adversaries in a legal process and preparation seems to compromise their position in court.

Throughout the country, school officials' response to community

preparation has varied. The continuum has gathered toward one end a very few superintendents and boards who have embraced and sometimes even led organized community efforts to peacefully comply with the law. Minneapolis is an example of this type of response. Clustering toward the other end are the large majority of superintendents and boards who maintain that there is no unconstitutional segregation in their school systems, and that the courts will vindicate them. Some remain aloof to community preparation, others actively discourage it, and some have even encouraged community oppostion to any order to desegregate. Boston is an example of this response at the extreme. The position of school officials in Cleveland to date has been closer to that of Boston than to that of Minneapolis.

5. A reliable source of unbiased information on the law, desegregation plans and events in other cities is a critical element in the pre-liability phase. The remedy phase also requires reliable information but of a different type.

The initiators of preparation in Cleveland discovered quickly, to their surprise, that the large amount of existing information on desegregation was "tainted". Either the source of the information, however accurate and readable, was identified with one position or another or the purpose of the information was to support one position or another. Nothing existed that outlined simply and clearly what legal issues had been decided and were not debatable, what legal and educational issues were open to discussion, and what legal and educational issues really were only beginning to be tackled. The Citizen Guide for Desegregation was written and published to fill that void. Both NAACP leaders and school officials in Ohio have found the Guide accurate and generally helpful. Citizens from around the state use it as a basic curriculum for understanding desegregation.

The information needed prior to a liability finding is different from that needed when remedies are being considered. While much good information now

exists on the law and events in other cities, materials must still be developed that explain various possible educational components to a desegregation plan, the costs of alternative investments and the ways in which parents have and can be seriously involved in developing and implementing a desegregation plan.

6. A cadre of knowledgeable articulate speakers on desegregation issues is very useful and not readily available in most communities.

On legal aspects of desegregation, the local bar association is a possible sponsor of a speakers bureau on legal issues. The Study Group requested a meeting with Cleveland Bar Association officials to discuss their participation in efforts to educate the community. No response was received. The president of the Cleveland Bar Association in 1975-76 was George Meisel, one of the school board attorneys.

Speakers on educational issues and desegregation planning are harder to find than lawyers. School officials in any district are simply unavailable, even those who are not involved in the litigation. Very few professors of education in Ohio are knowledgeable about school desegregation. Even those who have some expertise in the field either do not have the skills necessary for a citizen education effort or do not wish to be involved in an effort for which their employer provides no incentives. Professors Case, Rogus, and Shive were not encouraged in their activities by either the leadership of the College of Education or of the University. In fact, the major concern of the administration of the University was that the activities of the professors might have an adverse impact on the good relations between the city's public schools and the university.

The thinness of expertise in Cleveland meant that five or six people were handling thirty or forty speaking engagements a month from January to April, 1976. While that may not seem a heavy load to some, the fact is that those five or six people were also the best resources available

to help plan next steps for the citizen coalitions, to keep up with desegregation-related events around the country, and to think through long-range strategies.

Training other people to handle speakers bureau chores was attempted, but it has limitations. Many of the people who were trained with basic information such as the material in the Citizen Guide could not go beyond that to answer questions. When they tried, they were sometimes inaccurate or offered opinions, both of which damaged the credibility and neutrality of community education efforts. Any training effort should probably seek out people who already possess good speaking skills, ability to think quickly on their feet, and adeptness at handling questions. Those skills cannot be taught as readily as can information about desegregation.

7. Money is necessary before a decision by the court, to begin providing information and to develop leadership.

The Cleveland Foundation invested $225,000 in community preparation prior to the court decision. Without the money, the effort would have foundered. Money bought information preparation, visits to other cities, and consultants. Money from the Cleveland Foundation brought the support of one of the city's strongest institutions. It was in some ways even better than federal or state funds, even though these would surely have been useful.

8. Community organizations tend to compete with one another making coalitions both necessary and hard to build.

No single community organization wanted to take on community education efforts, but each also wanted to be certain that no other organization was the leader in the effort. That made a coalition of groups essential but hard to build. The only thing that some groups in the Greater Cleveland Project have in common is the desire to avert a crisis over school desegregation. Their splendidly different values, styles, and interests make agreement on any issue problematic.

Agreement on general principles is easier to achieve than agreement on the specifics of applying for funding, administering the money, structuring the coalition, and speaking for all groups. The structure of the Greater Cleveland Project and its operating style reflect the struggle to develop a functional organization from such great variety.

9. Many civic leaders, particularly businessmen, are skillful and experienced managers. They know how to identify objectives and organize to achieve those objectives. Many have strong experience in selling products. They are usually not equally adept at the cooperative processes necessary to build coalitions.

Many community leaders once convined that a desegregation order was probably, wanted to "do something". Call meetings. Reach decisions. Organize. The model most often espoused for organizing was the traditional pyramid structure with a select group at the top. That model leads to problems in developing a broad based community wide effort.

For example, BICCA became convinced early on that school desegregation was an issue they should consider. BICCA and the Cleveland Foundation put together the Study Group. GCIC and other community organizations, even though represented in some of these conversations, were suspicious that the elites were getting together to develop a negotiated settlement or a desegregation plan without consulting them or anyone else in town. Those suspicions proved unfounded and did not affect preparation efforts, but they did create tensions in developing cooperative ventures.

10. The suburb-city division apparent on many issues in extremely difficult to cope with on school desegregation.

Many who live in the city want the suburbs involved in any desegregation remedy either as an article of fairness or because they believe it is necessary for a final solution. City residents, upon understanding the Detroit decision, realize that the suburbs probably will not be involved in the plan. There is an understandable resentment that flares against suburban residents being involved in community preparation efforts.

Most of the people who were key leaders in both the Study Group and the Greater Cleveland Project live in the suburbs. They were consistently questioned about the reasons for their involvement and sometimes attacked as hypocrites.

11. Elected city officials and school officials tend to dismiss participation by non-professionals and non-elected officials as "well meaning, self-appointed, do-gooders". Some may even view citizen alliances that do not have their blessing as opposion.

Genuine citizen concern in Cleveland about an important public issue was frequently labeled by professional and elected officials in a manner to suggest it should not be taken seriously. It is undeniably true that Study Group members and Greater Cleveland Project members were "well-meaning", "self appointed", and concerned with doing good.

12. Media support for community preparation is very helpful.

The relationship between community preparation efforts and the media is a delicate one. One the one hand, for community leaders to learn about possible outcomes of the suit in a quiet, low-key way is helpful. On the other hand, it is important not to convey the impression that secret meetings are taking place to foist something on an unsuspecting community. Opening meetings to media representatives, particularly TV cameras, is always a risky business. Television telescopes everything into snippets of information which may convey only one tiny part of the whole picture. Print writers, if they are patient enough to sit through everything, usually can accurately convey more subtleties. On balance, openness seems an absolutely necessary risk.

Conclusions

These themes of the community preparation process in Cleveland, up to the initial court order to desegregate the schools, simply identify the issues with which most cities will be confronted. The issues will

occur with greater or lesser significance in other communities. Their resolution will depend on characteristics unique to each setting.

No panacea exists. In Cleveland, community preparation for school desegregation did not make the knotty problems of racial isolation go away. It did not alter the grim realities of poverty and decaying inner-city neighborhoods, both of which impact on the schools in major ways. It should not be oversold.

Community preparation in Cleveland has created a cadre of knowledgeable citizens who have information that will be valuable for efforts to develop and implement a desegregation plan. Preparation has created two new community coalitions which can serve as mechanisms to channel citizen advice into the desegregation planning process. Those coalitions are staffed with capable professionals with expertise in educational issues. Many of the organizations and agencies that are part of the coalitions have conducted extensive educational programs for their staff and clients.

Preparation has generated a climate in which court decisions can be accepted calmly and positive steps taken to comply with the law and to develop desegregation remedies that make sense for the community. In some cases, forces at work in Cleveland threaten that climate. In the final analysis, elected and appointed school officials can either join with or acquiesce to or use the prepared community leadership and citizenry to implement workable desegregation plans.

APPENDIX A

Cuyahoga County Municipalities
With Racial Composition Data

Place	1970 Population	% Negro of Total
Cuyahoga County	328,419	19.1
Bay Village	10	0.1
Beachwood	207	1.1
Bedford	18	0.1
Bedford Heights	113	0.9
Berea	713	3.2
Brecksville	157	1.7
Broadview Heights	78	0.7
Brooklyn	22	0.2
Brookpark	99	0.3
CLEVELAND	287,841	38.3
Cleveland Heights	1,508	2.5
East Cleveland	23,196	58.6
Euclid	296	0.4
Fairview Park	5	*
Garfield Heights	1,789	4.3
Highland Heights	9	0.2
Independence	9	0.1
Lakewood	21	*
Lyndhurst	11	0.1
Maple Heights	698	2.0
Mayfield Heights	80	0.4
Middleburg Heights	2	*
North Olmsted	18	0.1
North Royalton	--	--
Parma	50	*
Parma Heights	4	*
Richmond Heights	13	0.1
Rocky River	13	0.1
Seven Hills	10	0.1
Shaker Heights	5,250	14.5
Solon	5	*
South Euclid	30	0.1
Strongsville	11	0.1
University Heights	88	0.5
Warrensville Heights	4,007	21.2
Westlake	11	0.1
Rest of County	2,027	3.7

Note: * Denotes less than 0.05 per cent

GREATER CLEVELAND INTERCHURCH COUNCIL
2230 EUCLID AVENUE
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44115

APPENDIX B
INFORMATION ON GCIC CONFERENCES

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
Problems and Promises

sponsored by
Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council
and
Institute of Urban Studies
Cleveland State University

Tuesday, March 18, 1975

International Conference Room
University Center
Cleveland State University
East 22nd & Euclid

Why this Conference?

- To discuss with the help of experts the problems and possibilities of desegregation
- To provide an opportunity for community leadership to prepare for the most creative ways to respond
- To gain information about ways other cities have responded to desegregation orders and to examine Cleveland's alernatives

Who will Attend?

Leadership persons from religion, business, media, labor, community agencies and from educational insitutions

Who is Sponsoring this Conference?

The conference was planned by an interfaith group called together by the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council. The leadership of the Catholic Diocese, the Jewish community, the Protestant and Orthodox communities urge YOU to join with them in this important event.

PROGRAM

9:00 a.m.	Registration and Coffee	
9:30 a.m.	Opening Session	
	Presiding:	Dr. Thomas Campbell, Director Institute of Urban Studies Cleveland State University
	Welcome:	Dr. Donald Jacobs, Executive Director Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council
	Address:	MORAL, SOCIAL SCIENCE, AND LEGAL BACKGROUND OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION ISSUE Dr. Charles Glatt Professor of Educational Development Ohio State University
	Remarks:	DESEGREGATION AND THE LAW Owen Heggs, Attorney
10:45 a.m.	Panel Discussion: Moderator:	THREE PERSPECTIVES ON DESEGREGATION Joan Campbell, Associate Director Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council
		1) Memphis Joel Turetzky, Supervisor Division of Race Relations Memphis City Schools
		2) Detroit Aubrey McCutcheon Deputy Superintendent Detroit Board of Education
		3) Boston Robert J. DeGrazia Police Commissioner
12:00 noon	Luncheon	
	With guidance from a leader, each table will discuss implications of information gathered in the morning sessions	
1:30 p.m.	Panel Discussion:	SCHOOL/COMMUNITY COMPONENTS FOR EFFECTIVE DESEGREGATION
	Moderator:	Don Shire, Executive Director National Center for Quality Intergrated Education
		1) Memphis Joel Turetzky
		2) Denver Spencer Wren, Director Colorado Company of the Denver Council of Churches
		3) New Brunswick Jean Blachford, Project Director Title VII In-service Teacher Education

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REGISTRATION FORM

s, I shall attend the School Desegregation conference on March 18, 1975. Enclosed is my check for $6.00 made payable to
eater Cleveland Interchurch Council.

me _____ POSITION _____

GANIZATION _____

DDRESS _____ PHONE _____

turn this form to: School Desegregation Conference, Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council, 2230 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland,
io 44115 before March 10, 1975.

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FUTURE ACTION SUGGESTIONS

From Participants at School Desegregation Seminar, 3/18/75

Votes	
5	Groups/Retreat/Meetings
22	Education for Business Community in relation to cost Small Groups of 4 or 5
16	Plan with School Board/Administration
6	Understand School Board Position
5	Create Community Education Council
8	Interaction between Suburbs and Cleveland
13	Develop alternative plan for desegregation
9	Student involvement
18	Positive media input re: consciousness raising
22	Education of public - desegregation <u>is for real, it is coming</u> - we must get <u>ready</u>
6	Parent involvement
10	Get Foundation grant
10	Involve City Council - state officials - federal
11	Emphasize fact it is constitutional issue
19	Advantages and self-interest in desegregation system - Reinforcement for those taking a positive approach
8	Pull group together to focus on practical solution to desegregation - small group of people working together for three months Clearer idea of what school already has done
10	Representatives of all geographic areas - ethnic groupings - diversity

OVER

Analysis of Participants at School Desegregation Seminar
March 18, 1975

Staff	6
Speakers	6
Business, Professional, Foundation	11
Denominational Executives	9
Ministers	5
Labor	2
Media	3
Consultant	1
Educational Institutions	7
Religious Agencies	7
Social Agencies	26
Observers	4
	87

Black and other Minorities	28
White	59

Spheres of Influence:

City	64
Suburban	20
Out of Town Observers	3

OVER

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION SEMINAR
April 29, 1975
Cleveland State University
4-9 p.m.

3:45pm Registration and Coffee

4:00pm Opening Session
Presiding: Ms. Joan B. Campbell, Director
Church and Society Commission
Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council

Welcome: Rev. Charles Lucas, Jr., Director
Businessmen's Interracial Committee

Video: ISSUES OF DESEGREGATION
Presenter: Owen Heggs, Attorney
*Reactor Panel: "What issues does Cleveland face?"
1) Hugh Calkins, Attorney
2) Father John Fiala
Pastor, St. Leo's
3) Ms. Daisy Craggett
Director, Addison Y.W.C.A.

Questions and Answers

6:00pm Box Supper (Informal discussion)

7:00pm Video: THE COMMUNITY AND DESEGREGATION
Presenter: Don Shire, Executive Director
National Center for Quality Integrated Education
*Reactor Panel: "What is the role of the community in the process of desegregation?"
1) Tom Gannon, Director
Buckeye-Woodland Community Congress
2) John Schimpf, Director of Public Affairs
WKYC-TV
3) John Addison, Director
Urban League Street Academy

Questions and Answers

8:15pm Plenary Session: Dr. "Scrap" Zalba
Options and Alternatives for Cleveland

*Dr. Zalba will be Process Consultant for the panels.

THE PLANNING COMMITTEE
Sy Brief, American Jewish Committee
Rev. David Cole, West Shore Unitarian Church
Louis A. Gleason, Commission for Catholic Community Action
John Hurst, National Association of Social Workers
Dr. Kenneth Kovach, Greater Cleveland Bicentennial Committee
Dennis Lafferty, Greater Cleveland Growth Association
Rev. Craig Lewis, Friendly Inn
Dr. George Nishimoto, West Side Ecumenical Ministry
Rev. Henry Pinckney, Glenville United Presbyterian Church
Father Paul Plato, Commission for Catholic Community Action
Roy Rosenbaum, Jewish Community Federation
Dr. Marvin Rosenberg, School of Applied Social Sciences, C.W.R.U.
David Sarnat, Jewish Community Federation
Earl Williams, Community Relations Board
Dr. Serapio Zalba, Consultant

Joan B. Campbell, Associate Director
Henry Doll, Director of Development
Dr. Donald G. Jacobs, Executive Director
Del Jones, Program Associate (Conference Coordinator)
Nancy Oakley, Education Specialist
} G.C.I.C. Staff

"What is the Role of the Community?"

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION WORKSHOPS

June 11, 1975	June 16, 1975
St. Colman's Roman Catholic Church W. 65 and Madison Auditorium of School (basement)	Church of the Covenant 11205 Euclid Avenue Dining Room

6:45pm Registration

7:00pm Opening Session

Presiding: Ms. Joan B. Campbell, Director, Church and Society Commission, Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council

Welcome: Rev. Charles Lucas, Jr., Director, Businessmen's Interracial Committee

Video: "The Issues Cleveland Faces"

Presenter:

West:	East:
Ms. Laverne Maximuk, Active Parent, Cleveland Schools	Dr. Donald Jacobs, Executive Director, G.C.I.C.

Questions for Clarification

Group Input

8:00pm "Roles the Community Has Played - a Look at Other Cities"

Presenter:

West:	East:
Dr. George Nishimoto, Executive Director, West Side Ecumenical Ministry	John Hurst, Dept. of Human Resources, East Cleveland

*Reactor Panel: "What is the role of the community in the process of desegregation?"

West:	East:
1) John Addison, Director, The Street Academy	1) John Addison, Director, The Street Academy
2) Ms. Anita Wheatley, Coordinator of Volunteers, West Side Free Clinic	2) Ms. Carol Bugg, Law Student
3) Ms. Avis Sanchez, Case Manager, Dept. of Mental Retardation	3) Father John Fiala, Pastor, St. Leo's R. C. Church

Questions and Answers

9:30pm Plenary Session: Dr. "Scrap" Zalba

"Options and Alternatives for Cleveland"

*Dr. Zalba will be Process Consultant for the panel.

Analysis of Participants at School Desegregation Seminar #2
April 29, 1975

League of Women Voters	6
Social Agencies	12
Staff	3
Speakers	9
Government	10
Clergy	18
Consultant	1
Education	9
Religious Agency	10
	78

Black and other minorities	25
White	53

over

PLENARY SESSION SEMINAR # 2

4 Community Congress (with School officials)
4 Super Target Schools
8 Housing, etc. - 2 level approach - defacto segregation in housing and schools
5 Voucher system
5 Neighborhood information meetings
10 Alternatives to existing schools
3 Involvement of suburbs
1 Human Relations Programs (Memphis)
2 Utilizing existing groups, i.e. PTA, etc.
2 Student exchange
5 Getting action groups commitment to school desegregation and publiciz
4 Getting our groups publicized
6 Help get $ for school desegregation through legislations
6 City-wide coordinating groups

FUTURE ACTION SUGGESTIONS SEMINAR # 1

5 Groups/Retreat/Meetings
22 Education for Business Community in relation to cost
Small groups of 4 or 5
16 Plan with School Board/Administration
6 Understand School Board position
5 Create Community Education Council
8 Interaction between Suburbs and Cleveland
13 Develop alternative plan for desegregation
9 Student involvement
18 Positive media input re: consciousness raising
22 Education of public - desegregation <u>is for real, it is coming</u> - we must get <u>ready</u>
6 Parent involvement
10 Get Foundation grant
10 Involve City Council - state officials - federal
11 Emphasize fact it is constitutional issue
19 Advantages and self-interest in desegregation system - reinforcement for those taking a positive approach
8 Pull group together to focus on practical solution to desegregation-small group of people working together for three months. Clearer idea of what school already has done.
10 Representatives of all geographic areas - ethnic groupings - diversit

over

Seminar #1 (87 church & social agency executives, labor, media, educational institutions) (30% Minority)	Seminar #2 (78 social & religious agency staff, government and educational institutions)	Seminar #3 (189 parents, students, teachers) (50% Black)	Seminar #4
22 Education for public	10 Alternatives to existing schools	36 Education components: speakers bureau, hotline, distribute booklets, etc.	37 Dialogue among peoples
22 Education for business community in relation to cost	8 Housing-2 level approach-de facto segregation in housing and schools	15 Inform people about alternative kinds of plans available	11 School Board - organizations to pressure for plan
19 Advantages and self-interest in desegregation	6 Help get $ for school desegregation through legislation	11 Student input	4 Involvement of churches, non-political leaders
18 Work with media re: consciousness raising	6 City-wide coordinating groups	10 Understanding concerns of opponents	3 Communication - media relations, suburban school relations, community newsletter
16 Plan <u>with</u> School Bd./ Administration	5 Getting action groups' commitment to school desegregation and publicize	9 Identify active participants	
13 Identify alternatives/options for desegregation	5 Voucher system		
10 Involve diversity of groups with each other	5 Neighborhood information meetings		
	4 Getting our groups publicized		
	4 Community Congress (with school officials)		

<u>Some issues raised in the sessions were</u>: neighborhood-language needs, organization of anti-desegregatio groups, cost and time of transportation, racism or prejudice of teachers, accurate information and rumo control, parent/school relations, protecting cultural heritage, being outnumbered, the media, violence and safety, Board of Education resistance to community involvement, the power and responsibility of churches (e.g. Catholic), law enforcement, alternative schools, kid power, teacher responsibility, business community, etc.

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United States Attorney
U.S. Court House, Room 400

(Note: Term beginning 4/1/77)

APPENDIX D

STATEMENT TO THE GREATER CLEVELAND COMMUNITY

BY THE STUDY GROUP ON RACIAL ISOLATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Cleveland Board of Education and the State of Ohio are being sued by the Cleveland branch of the N.A.A.C.P. to end alleged patterns of racial discrimination. The case Reed v. Gilligan is currently pending in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Ohio. The case is assigned to Chief Judge Frank Battisti and is scheduled to go on trial on November 10, 1975. The N.A.A.C.P. has asked the court to order the defendants to develop and implement a desegregation plan which will provide for the elimination of alleged patterns of racial segregation in the schools.

Citizens in other cities across the United States have seen their communities torn apart over school desegregation issues because of the absence of responsible leadership. They have urged others not to duplicate their mistakes by failing to provide knowledgeable and constructive leadership to the community.

The Study Group on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools was formed to familiarize its membership with the problems associated with this type of lawsuit and the effects of a possible desegregation order on our community, to analyze related problems, and to provide knowledgeable and responsible guidance to the entire community. The Study Group will consider the positive and negative experiences of other cities such as Boston, Cincinnati, Denver, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Louisville and Minneapolis.

The Study Group is composed of a number of individuals from varied backgrounds and different sectors of the Greater Cleveland community who hold positions of responsibility in business, labor, civic and community organizations. The group was convened in July, 1975 through the collaborative efforts of the Businessmen's Interracial Committee on Community Affairs and the Cleveland Foundation. Rolland F. Smith serves as chairman.

The Study Group pledged to maintain strict neutrality in the litigation and to devote its energy and effort to understanding the facts of the lawsuit and to implementing the decision that is ultimately rendered, whatever it may be. Members of the Study Group recommend that other leaders and organizations in the community refrain from making public statements, taking official positions or passing resolutions for either side until the court has rendered its decision.

Regardless of this lawsuit's outcome, thoughtful citizens in Greater Cleveland should continue to seek constructive ways to reduce racial isolation and polarization wherever it exists. That all children have an equal opportunity to high quality education should be of paramount importance.

:jmu
10/28/75

"the BULLETIN"

October 1975 #1

A court order to desegregate Cleveland schools is a possibility in 1975 or 1976. Court ordered desegregation has occurred in some cities with much confusion and sometimes tragedy. In other cities, it has come without chaos or bitterness. The difference, according to everyone participating or observing, is preparation and education of all citizens.

For several months, the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council puzzled over how it might begin to help in the education of a variety of groups of citizens. The Council has convened several colleagues in social agencies to discuss the issue. A series of seminars for interested citizens were held; several experts were invited to talk about the law, the process of implementing the law and what has happened in other cities. Those citizens attending the conference made recommendations and suggestions for activities which should be undertaken. As a result of one of these recommendations, it was decided that an information bulletin was needed.

"The Bulletin" is being sent to the 400 people who attended the seminars and other interested persons. Its purpose is to inform readers in some depth about specific areas of the desegregation process. This issue will describe in sequence the likely process to be followed by the District Court over the next several months.

The extraordinary delicacy of this area is recognized by the many agencies and community groups which are involved. There are many who say that any citizen education program is premature and that it assumes that the court will order desegregation. They argue that Cleveland should wait until the court decides lest people think a court ordered plan is favored. The costs of being labeled "pro-busing" have been weighed against the benefits to be gained from having citizens who understand what the courts, school officials and lawyers can and cannot do and what they as parents, teachers, students, neighbors can do. We have heeded the lessons of Pontiac and Boston and will start to do some citizen education programs now. This bulletin is one. Continued meetings with other social agencies and citizen groups to discuss the issues are another. Reading, study and discussion with those who understand legal, educational and political aspects of desegregation is another. Communication with our counterparts nationally and in other cities is another.

an outline of a court decision process

What the Interchurch Council or any other organization does now will have no influence on the court's ultimate decision. That is a matter of the law. But what we do can is educate citizens and eliminate unwarrented confusion whatever the court decides.

OUTLINE OF COURT DECISION PROCESS

1. The suit is called Reed vs. Gilligan. The plaintiff, Reed, is a Cleveland student. He and others named as plaintiffs represent all school children in the city. The suit is sponsored by the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. Cleveland lawyers are James Hardiman and Russell Andrine with support from Nathaniel Jones of the National office of the NAACP. The defendant named is John Gilligan as Governor. Other defendants include the State Commissioner of Education and the President of the Cleveland School Board. Counsel for the defense is provided by the firm of Squire, Sanders and Dempsey.

2. The suit argues that Cleveland schools are segregated and that the segregation has been caused and perpetuated by various actions and inaction of the state and the School Board. It asks the Court to order a plan prepared to eliminate this segregation.

3. Trial is set for November 10,1975 in the Federal District Court with Judge Frank Battisti presiding. The trial has been postponed once and could be again. It is a decision for the Judge to make.

4. Once trial begins, the Judge will hear evidence from both sides regarding whether or not segregation exists and how it came to be if it does exist.

5. The Judge will make a decision. He has several choices. Three are:
   Yes. Segregation exists. It is caused by state and local action. This is de jure segregation.

   Yes. Segregation exists. It is not caused by state and local action. This is de facto segregation.

   No. Segregation does not exist.

6. If no, the District Court does nothing further. The NAACP could appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals.

7. If yes, but not caused by official action, the District Court does nothing further. The NAACP could appeal to Circuit Court. Unless official action is found to have caused or perpetuated segregation, no remedy can be prescribed by the Court.

8. If yes and caused by official action, the Judge must then develop a remedy. At this point, the school district is said to be under court order to desegregate. The School Board may appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals.

9. If appealed by School Board, the development of remedy may be postponed until the Appeals Court makes a decision. Once appeals are exhausted, a remedy must be developed by the District Court.

10. If not appealed by the School Board, or once appeals are exhausted, the Judge will order someone, generally the School Board, to prepare a desegregation plan. He can also order the State to prepare a plan or he can have other experts prepare one. Other people can prepare plans unsolicited by the Court and provide them to the Judge. The Judge will determine the timing for the plan(s) to be prepared. He may request or order participation from various community groups in plan development. It is at this point that recommendations will be developed on possible suburban involvement, or changing attendance zones, or busing, or all other means to desegregate a school system.

11. The Judge will review the plan(s) and order one to be implemented. He will also order the timing of implementation.

12. Either party may appeal procedural questions (timing and such) or content (the plan itself) to the Circuit Court of Appeals.

13. Once all appeals are exhausted on the plan, it must be implemented by the School Board. The Judge may appoint advisors to help him monitor the implementation.

Predicting the timing of this process is extraordinarily difficult. It is impossible to know what will be appealed and how long the appeals process will take. Most northern city cases have taken three to five years from the time the suit is filed until a plan is ordered implemented.

The next issue of the bulletin will focus on the legal definition of segregation and what is required to prove it exists. Decisions of the Supreme Court for both the south and the north will provide the basis for the issue. Issues following that will focus on various means of desegregation currently in practice throughout the country.

Some suggested topics for future bulletins are:

What evidence must exist to prove segregation? A review of 4 or 5 important Supreme Court decisions.

If segregation is proved, what choices are open to the Court? A review of freedom of choice, metropolitan plans, magnet schools, pairing and clustering of schools and other possible means.

What desegregated programs exist now in the Cleveland schools? A look at magnet schools, vocational education and the supplementary education center.

"The Bulletin" has been sent to you by an ad-hoc coordinating group comprised of concerned social service, community and religious organizations whose purpose is to work for a peaceful resolution of any/all needs and problems which arise in our community as a result of the desegregation suit and the issues it represents.

Greater Cleveland
Interchurch Council

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BULLETIN : the Constitution and School Desegregation

November 1975 Number 2

Court proceedings in desegregation suits include two distinct steps. In the first, the District Court Judge must decide whether or not the schools are segregated and whether officials are guilty of creating or perpetuating segregation. If officials are guilty, the judge will in the second step order a remedy (a plan that will remedy the segregation).

The Cleveland suit, Reed v. Gilligan, which goes to trial November 10, is in the first phase. What Judge Battisti must decide from the evidence presented at the trial and the documents filed with him is whether or not officials are guilty of segregating Cleveland schools. On what basis will he decide? What kind of evidence is needed to prove segregation exists? What actions of school officials would make them guilty?

The answers to those questions come from the U.S. Constitution, federal and state law and Supreme Court decisions in desegregation suits over the past 22 years. These laws and opinions provide the judge with the standards against which he must evaluate the evidence in Cleveland.

The Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution provides the basis for desegregation suits. It says, in what is called the equal protection clause,

> no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the U.S.; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within the jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.

The issue in desegregation suits is whether any state in providing education to its citizens can classify them by race, sending black children to one school and white children to another. The central question is whether classifying students by race denies them "equal protection of the law." Since Brown v. Board of Education in 1954, the Supreme Court has said that separate schools are unconstitutional.

In the South, separate schools for each race occurred as a result of state laws requiring black children to go to one school and white children to another. The Brown decision declared those state laws unconstitutional because separation of the races generates a feeling of inferiority for black children that may "affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

In the North and West, no state laws existed requiring two separate school systems. Ohio, for example, has mandated an integrated public school system since February 22, 1887. The statute was upheld in 1888 by the Supreme Court of Ohio which said:

> ...separate schools for colored children have been abolished and no regulation can be made...that does not apply to all children irrespective of race or color.

The Supreme Court defined unconstitutional segregation for states like Ohio in a case called Keyes v. School District No. 1 Denver, Colorado, et al., 1973. In the Denver case, the court said that the plaintiffs must demonstrate first, that segregation exists and second, that it was "brought about and maintained by intentional state action." It is not enough to show that black children and white children go to different schools. It must be shown that the racial imbalance is caused by practices of local school officials or state officials. In addition, it must be demonstrated that the officials intended that those practices segregate schools. This is very different from the suits where plaintiffs needed to show only that racial imbalance existed in a state that had a law mandating a dual system at the time of the Brown case. None of the Southern cases required the court to decide the intentions of officials.

In the Detroit case, Bradley v. Milliken, the Supreme Court further explained how intent can be determined. Intentional segregation can be inferred by showing that acts and policies of the school authorities had the "natural, probable and foreseeable effect" of producing segregated schools. In understanding the Supreme Court definition of illegal segregation for states like Ohio, it will help to look at examples from other cities of what has been declared an act or policy with natural, probable and foreseeable effects of creating or aggravating segregation:

1. School construction--Constructing a new school building at a site where reasonable estimates indicate an all-black or all-white enrollment.
2. Drawing student attendance zones (sometimes called gerry-mandering) --Creating or maintaining schools of predominantly one race by the drawing of school attendance boundary lines.

3. Feeder patterns--Creating or maintaining one race junior and senior high schools by selecting predominantly one race elementary schools to feed into the higher grades.
4. Optional attendance zones--Giving students the choice of attending schools outside their neighborhood when the area is changing from predominantly one race to predominantly another race.
5. Mobile classrooms--Adding temporary classroom space to a school of predominantly one race while nearby schools with predominantly the other race are not used at capacity.
6. Transportation--Transporting students of one race to a school of that race past a school of another race.
7. Teacher and staff assignment--The assignment of black teachers to black schools and white teachers to white schools.
8. Student transfers--Allowing students of one race to transfer out of a school of predominantly another race.

This list does not exhaust all possible acts that are unconstitutional but it covers most of those pointed out in recent cases in Denver, Boston, Dayton and Detroit.

The complaint in Reed v. Gilligan charges that the Cleveland schools are segregated and that the State and the local school authorities caused or aggravated the segregation. The specific kinds of actions mentioned as unconstitutional in the complaint are:
1. Assignment of faculty and staff.
2. Assignment of students.
3. Designing attendance zones for elementary, junior and senior high schools.
4. Planning future public educational facilities.
5. Constructing new schools.
6. Building upon existing racially discriminatory housing patterns in determining where children go to school.

The plaintiffs have presented specific examples of these actions and presumably will present additional evidence at the trial.

The School Board has responded that it did not cause the segregation and that it has acted positively to desegregate the schools. They have said:
1. The hiring policies for faculty and administrators have produced the best racially mixed faculty and staff of all major cities in the U.S.
2. The school system has created city-wide integrated vocational, special education schools and the Supplementary Education Center.
3. Realignment of school district boundaries when new schools were built "had nothing to do with race but rather concerned safety and convenience of pupils." Minority hiring on all construction has been high.
4. There has been a 25% increase in college admission from Cleveland high schools.
5. The reading level of Cleveland public school students is above the national average.
6. Textbooks are selected to reflect integration in content and illustration.
7. City wide integrated student groups have been organized.
8. New curriculum in ethnic studies and black culture have been inaugurated.
9. The Board has been responsive to recommendations of civil rights groups.

Judge Battisti will hear evidence from both sides on the points they have made. He will determine the facts from the arguments of both sides and then fit those facts with the standards from law and previous court cases to decide whether officials have unconstitutionally segregated Cleveland schools.

The next issue of The Bulletin will discuss what is known about the educational effects of desegregation.

"The BULLETIN"

Outcomes of Desegregation

December 1975 Number 3

This issue of the Bulletin will discuss some educational outcomes for students from desegregation. Do students learn more in desegregated settings? Do attitudes toward other races change? Is the education in desegregated settings of higher quality? Before attempting to summarize research on these questions, there are three general points to make.

First, the answers to these questions are irrelevant to court decisions. Those decisions are not based on whether white people leave or stay in the city; or whether anyone's attitudes change. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission summed it up:

> "All such considerations avoid the basic issue: the 14th amendment to the Constitution, not scientific findings, governs both desegregation of the public schools and the transportation, if required, to achieve it. Decisions affecting desegregation rest on legal and moral grounds rather than on scientific research, regardless of its results."

Second, research in education never provides completely clear answers. That happens in part because of the way in which research is done. If a researcher wants to find out whether black children learn more in desegregated schools, he would probably test black children in desegregated settings and compare their scores with black children of the same age, grade, and ability in segregated schools. If he finds that children in a desegregated setting gained more points in a year than similar children in a segregated setting, should he conclude that desegregation causes an improvement in test scores? Probably not. At least that is not clearly so.

Desegregation is not a single simple event. It is made up of many parts. Any one of those parts--new schools, different teacher, more materials, different teaching style, another curriculum--could influence test scores. Children respond to desegregation in different ways--excitement, anxiety, confidence, fear. Those affect test scores. All the researcher could say with certainty about the study is that black children in both schools continued to learn and that these particular black children in this particular desegregated setting did better than those particular black children in that particular segregated setting. A great number of studies that showed the same results would begin to indicate that something about desegregated schools seemed to improve scores that black children make on achievement tests. We still would not know what factors in a desegregated school caused the achievement increase.

Third, even if social science research gave clear answers to all questions, it might not be very helpful in deciding what we should do. For example, research may well indicate that over time, children score higher on achievement tests in desegregated schools than similar children in segregated settings. Opinion research may also show that most white parents and many black parents prefer not to have their children transported to achieve desegregated schools. What is the best policy in this case--desegregate or not? It is a moral, legal and political question and cannot be answered by research results.

None of these three points means that educational research should never be done or that it is never very useful. It is important for educators to learn about how different children react in different school settings. Teachers can then respond to particular needs of children and structure learning in a way that is most productive.

A recent book by Professor Nancy St. John, School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children, reviews the evidence from 120 separate studies of student achievement, racial attitudes, and self-confidence in desegregated settings. Her conclusions are worth reporting in some detail.

> "During the past 20 years considerable racial mixing has taken place in schools, but research has produced little evidence of dramatic gains for children and some evidence of genuine stress for them. The probable reason for such outcomes is that desegregation is rarely true integration; in other words, it is rarely implemented in ways that give minority children equal status and full protection against victimization and cultural marginality."
>
> *****
>
> "But although desegregation is not to date a demonstrated success, it is not yet a demonstrated failure. There is as little evidence of consistent loss as there is of consistent gain. Further, in spite of the large number of studies, various limitations in design weaken the best of them. Thus in a sense the evidence is not all in."
>
> *****

over

"...There is no indication, however, that we need to revise the basic hypothesis that in the long run integration benefits children. It is the implementation rather than the goal which now needs attention—how can "mere desegregation" be translated into "true integration"?

The research from these 120 studies agrees generally on the following points:

1. White achievement scores have been unaffected generally.
2. The gap in black-white achievement has not closed very much.
3. Black achievement has sometimes risen and almost never fallen.
4. Improvement for black children has most often occurred in the early grades, in arithmetic and in schools over 50% white.
5. Biracial schooling seems to have some negative effect on both academic self-concept and general self-concept of black children in the short run.
6. Desegregation apparently lowers educational and vocational aspirations of black children although some suggest that this is a reduction of unrealistically large aspirations.
7. Some evidence suggests that in the long run, desegregation may encourage the aspiration, self-esteem, and sense of control for black children.
8. White racism is frequently aggravated by mixed schooling.
9. Inter-racial friendships are more likely among younger children and among those who have been desegregated for a long while.
10. Great variation exists between communities on the interaction of secondary school students.
11. Inter-racial behavior is affected by social class. Middle class whites and blacks seem more likely to form inter-racial friendships.

Much confusion exists about whether racial or social class integration is the important factor in raising achievement scores. The Coleman Report of 1966 (Equality of Educational Opportunity), and many re-analyses of the data collected by Coleman generally agree that lower class (poor) children of any race are likely to have higher achievement scores in a school where middle and upper class children (rich) are in the majority than they are in a school where poor children of any race are in the majority. One conclusion from that information is that if the goal is to raise achievement scores, putting poor kids in school with rich kids seems more likely to do it than putting black kids in schools with majority white attendance.

Three other points, however, are important to make about this conclusion: Black children are more likely to be poor than white children so racial desegregation can in many cases achieve social class integration as well. Many outcomes of schooling other than just achievement are important to parents and to society; for example, creativity, curiosity, civic responsibility, moral judgement, artistic taste, leadership skill, or human sensitivity. Almost no research of quality has been done on differences between desegregated and segregated schools on those outcomes. The success or failure of all public education including desegregated schooling probably ought to be decided on broader factors than achievement test scores. Finally, even if research indicated clearly that social class integration improved all outcomes for all children, there are no laws that require social class integration. Courts can and have taken into account the importance of social class when racial desegregation plans have been drawn up, but they have no legal basis by which to order social class integration.

People on many different sides of the desegregation process will quote educational research results to prove one point or another. As this article indicates, the appropriate response to all research in this area is skepticism.

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The "BULLETIN"

January 1976 Number 4

"White Flight"

One of the major concerns regarding school desegregation is "white flight". Some believe that large numbers of white parents will either move out of a school district undergoing desegregation or will remove their children from public schools and enroll them in private ones. Information is available from actual experiences on this matter. Great attention has been focused on the subject by the writing, speeches and interviews of James S. Coleman. Four other studies on "white flight" will be summarized here along with Professor Coleman's work.

All authors agree that whites are fleeing central cities and have been for two decades or more. The questions are whether desegregation (particularly if court ordered and achieved by busing) causes additional flight and, if so, how much.

Coleman examined statistics collected by the Office of Civil Rights of the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare. He developed an index to describe the state of segregation among schools in the U.S. in 1968. He computed the same index in 1972 and compared regions of the country with each other and with themselves at the two points in time. He also compared districts of different size. He concluded:

1. Much segregation exists within large city school districts.
2. Regional variations exist with the South having made the greatest progress toward desegregation.
3. Small districts (up to 25,000) have been most successful in eliminating segregation.

None of these are particularly startling conclusions. Many other people have made them. Coleman, however, went on to make some projections about the future in the 20 largest central city districts in the U.S. and the next 50 largest city districts based upon what occurred in those districts between 1968 and 1970. He assumed that any decrease in segregation within districts during those two years was due to school board or court action. He concluded that white movement out of the cities was largely in response to these government actions. He further concluded that the courts ought to stop ordering large scale desegregation particularly that involving busing because when it was ordered, whites left the schools.

Whites may, in fact, flee desegregation. Coleman's research, however, proves nothing of the kind. The following facts are very important.

1. None of the 20 largest cities included in his research had undergone court ordered desegregation in the years he studied them. Houston, San Diego, and Columbus had some voluntary transfer programs. New Orleans, Tampa and Atlanta had integrated faculties.
2. None of the 70 cities he studied had desegregation plans involving busing. The Supreme Court first approved such a plan in April, 1971. His data do not indicate response to busing.
3. Coleman's general conclusion about court ordered desegregation is his opinion. It is not scientific truth supported by reams of evidence.

Three other studies of white flight have important conclusions. Reynolds Farley, a sociologist from the U. of Michigan, compared cities undergoing desegregation by court order between 1967 and 1972 and those which did not decrease school segregation very much. He divided cities by region-North and South -- and by size. His conclusion:

> "...the majority of the 125 districts lost white students. In some of those districts losing whites, there was also a sharp decline in segregation while in other cities losing whites, school segregation did not change after 1967...In neither region is there a significant relationship between school integration and white flight."

The table below shows sample cities from Farley's study with those having court ordered plans starred (*).

Table I

North	Segregation Index	% Change in White Enrollment
*Denver	-24	-13
*San Francis.	-47	-25
Chicago	+ 1	-23
Pittsburgh	+ 2	-32
Cleveland	+ 2	-13
Philadelphia	+ 5	- 6
Seattle	- 3	-44

South

	Segregation Index	% Change in White Enrollment
Baltimore	+ 2	-38
Miami	-25	- 3
Wash. D.C.	+ 4	-40
Atlanta	-14	-54
*Nashville	-48	-25
St. Louis	+ 1	-27
*Tampa	-73	+ 8
*Charlotte	-64	-13
+Okla. City	-72	-39

Note: Negative numbers in the segregation index indicate desegregation. Positive numbers indicate increasing segregation. The size of the number does reflect the magnitude of the change, thus Denver with a -24 sharply reduced segregation while Seattle with a -3 did not desegregate much at all.

The table makes very clear that whites are leaving cities whether or not schools desegregate. They have left all cities where court orders were handed down except for Tampa, Florida. But Pittsburgh and Baltimore were among the highest losers of white enrollment and they increased segregation slightly.

Other research indicates that not only whites are leaving large cities. Between 1970 and 1974, black population in Washington fell by 5%. This decline was more than twice as fast as the white flight. Washington's suburbs increased their black population by 61% in the same period. Similar statistics exist for Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Christine Rossell is in the process of studying 86 northern school districts and their response to desegregation. She is collecting information on percentage changes in white enrollment for several years before and after desegregation. Eleven cities in her study have undergone court ordered desegregation. Only two, Pasadena and Pontiac, show a significant decrease in percentage white children in the schools immediately following the court order. All nine other cities, including Denver, San Francisco, and Oklahoma City, have about the same rate of white flight both before and after the court order. By the second or third year following the court order even Pontiac and Pasadena have stabilized to the pre court order rate or lower.

The only study that actually interviewed parents who withdrew their children from public school and enrolled them in private schools was done in Florida in 1973 and involved seven districts that had desegregated between 1968 and 1972. The results were:

1. 2.3% of parents with children attending schools less than 30% black transferred them to private schools.
2. The percentage transferring from schools over 30% black was 6.4%.
3. Whether or not a child was to be bused or the length of the bus ride was not the major reason for transferring. The major reason was the racial makeup of the school.

While the percentage of children leaving is not trivial in this study, it is also hard to call 2% or 6% massive white flight. This is particularly true if the Rossell research is accurate and the percentage leaving falls again in the second and third year after the court order.

The only fair way to interpret all of this research is to say that whites and blacks who have the choice are leaving our largest cities for a variety of reasons. Desegregation by court order involving busing will probably cause some whites to leave but many of them may leave anyway. The additional number leaving because of desegregation probably should not be considered massive. Aside from Professor Coleman's opinion, there is no strong evidence at this time to show that slowing the pace of school desegregation or halting court ordered busing will affect the long run trend of flight from the cities very much one way or the other.

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"the Bulletin"

BULLETIN NUMBER 5 April 1976

"Cleveland School Desegregation-A Status Report"

esegregation trial Reed v. Rhodes (now re- for the current governor) has concluded, he court's opinion now is awaited. Final ents were made before Judge Battisti on 18 by attorneys for the State Department ucation, the Cleveland School Board, and AACP.

dition to arguing that the school board he state were guilty of unconstitutional n, the NAACP final argument also asks the to consider a remedy that would include chool districts in Cuyahoga County. The bility of a metropolitan remedy had been d by some witnesses at the trial. Several s are important to consider:

, the court has to decide whether the ls and the state are guilty of unconsti- nal actions. That is what the court now nsidering.

d, if the defendants are guilty, then the will outline the scope of the remedy, the g for it, and the process by which it will veloped. The court may ask that more one plan be prepared. Or the court could hat one plan be prepared for the city only, nother be prepared for the county. This one in Detroit and Wilmington.

, it is not yet clear that a metropolitan would be in order. The U.S. Supreme opinion in Detroit states that plain- must prove that intentional actions taken by the state and by suburban and school districts that made the city s predominantly black and suburban s predominantly white. The Supreme did not, however, provide a precise definition of the evidence necessary to prove a violation that would require a metropolitan remedy.

The evidence presented at the trial is voluminous. Among the major points the NAACP attempted to make with its witnesses was the argument that Cleveland school board policies over the past 30 years on school boundaries, school locations, optional zones, and teacher and administrator assignments segregated schools by race. Other testimony on real estate and mortgage practices was presented to support the argument that school officials could predict with some certainty where racial groups would live in the city. Thus, according to NAACP logic, policies could have developed to desegregate schools based upon that knowledge.

The Cleveland schools, in defense, sought to identify reasons other than race, such as safety and natural boundaries, for decisions on school locations, optional zoning, and school boundaries. In addition, the school system presented evidence intended to show that it was impossible to predict several years in advance the racial composition of a school-attendance area. According to the defense, schools were segregated because housing was segregated, and school officals could not be expected to control housing decisions.

Beyond rejecting specific charges made by the plaintiffs, the schools presented evidence on active steps taken to recruit and hire minority teachers and administrators, to bring students of different races together in city-wide and supplementary programs, to develop

ethnic studies and black history curricula, and to hire minorities on school construction projects. They presented testimony intended to show that additional steps, particularly major pupil reassignment, would cause many white children to leave the system.

The defense presented by the State Department of Education highlighted the fact that there is no state law requiring it to act against local school districts alleged to practice unconstitutional segregation. A State Attorney General opinion in 1956 informed the State Department that it could legally withhold funds from districts that practiced segregation. Officials of the State Department reported that no complaints had been heard against Cleveland schools--so they had taken no action. Evidence also was presented describing activities undertaken by the State Department of Education to assist certain school districts in desegregating.

The court will review the evidence in light of previous legal opinions, and will make a decision. Information is provided in Bulletin No. 2 on legal standards to be used by the court in evaluating evidence.

This report was written by Rachel Tompkins, Associate Director, Citizen's Council for Ohio Schools, for distribution by The Greater Cleveland Project.

APPENDIX F

The Greater Cleveland Project

Statement of Purpose

Whereas, an imperative for this society is high quality, integrated public education systems whose facilities and resources are equally accessible to all the young without regard to race, religion, economic status, national origin or sex, and there is strong and on-going concern today among citizens and organizations in Cleveland and Greater Cleveland that this social goal be attained; and

Whereas, under the mandate of the United States Constitution the Federal courts have moved to protect the rights of all citizens to equal educational opportunity, and there is a need for compliance with that law of the land and for peaceful acceptance of and response to the forthcoming decision of the Federal District Court in the Cleveland case; and

Whereas, a number of community-oriented organizations and agencies have met for several months on an *ad hoc* basis out of common concern over the outcome of the court decision on school segregation and its effect on the quality of education and on the peace and tranquility of the community, and have concluded that a more formal joint effort on their part is necessary and appropriate to promote the educational and other vital interests of the community; and

Whereas, strong, positive leadership is required to promote the elimination of discrimination and segregation, obedience to law, high quality integrated education, creation of a social climate that results in peaceful and humane environments in the schools and the community, and the improved welfare of the young;

Now therefore be it resolved:

That the signatories to this document hereby subscribe to this statement of concerns and agree to participate in a Greater Cleveland venture known as The Greater Cleveland Project to: 1) help develop in neighborhoods and elsewhere throughout Greater Cleveland responsible leadership that understands the implications of the court action on school desegregation and will be prepared to encourage peaceful and lawful responses to it; 2) provide accurate and complete information on school desegregation matters to the public; 3) help coordinate the work of agencies and organizations engaged in and supporting school desegregation; and 4) develop a core group of citizens and organizations that has as its concern quality public education and that will be a voice for quality schools; and further

That participation in this Project by additional organizations, groups and parties that subscribe to this statement of concerns is expressly invited and shall be sought; and further

That participants in this Project shall be responsible for making policy and program decisions of the Project in keeping with rules of procedure that they establish, while at the same time safeguarding the right of each participant to maintain its own individual freedom of action and mission; and further

That responsibility and accountability for management of Project funds is presently vested in the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council as recipient of foundation funds supporting this Project.

/s/_____ for _____
(name and title) (organization)

APPENDIX F

Membership List of the
Greater Cleveland Project

ames Murray
l./Police Department
yne Avenue
nd, Ohio 44115

erta Steinbacher
Urban Studies-C.S.U.
Building
nd, Ohio 44115

rice Thornton
a Community College
negie
nd, Ohio 44115

Ferencik - Ethnic Study
a Community College
negie Avenue
nd, Ohio 44115

e Knapp
Labor Agency
clid Avenue
nd, Ohio 44115

es O'Meara
nd Teachers Union
ineers Bldg.
nd, Ohio 44114

nie Bassis
nd Lay Advocates
yne Avenue
nd, Ohio 44114

es Campbell
ahoga Plan
ade
nd, Ohio 44114

ph Findley
for Economic Opportunity
3rd Street
nd, Ohio 44113

D. Nobel
on Human Relations
Arcade
nd, Ohio 44114

mas F. Campbell
lities Service Center
- 1983 E. 24th Street
nd, Ohio 44115

Ms. Esther Szarka
Nationalities Service Center
1001 Huron Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Ms. Glee Ivory
The Urban League
2060 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Mr. Howard Wells
United Torch Services
3100 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Mr. Calvin Green
United Torch Services
3100 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Mr. Steve Walker
Collinwood Youth Centers
1765 Hillview Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44112

Ms. Barbara Huffman
Housing Our People Economically
P. O. Box 03176
Cleveland, Ohio 44103

Ms. Pam Ortensi
Housing Our People Economically
P. O. Box 03176
Cleveland, Ohio 44103

Mr. Juan Rios, Exec. Director
Spanish American Committee
4507 Lorain Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

Ms. Alicia Alvardo
Fed. of Catholic Com. Services
1763 West 31st Place
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

lma Fry
of Cleveland
109th Street
nd, Ohio 44108

Mr. Lester Wyman
N.A.S.W., Ohio Chapter
3659 Green Rd., Ste. 210
Beachwood, Ohio 44122

ol Finkle
of Cleveland
tree Park Dr.
nd, Ohio 44143

Mr. Louis Gleason
Com. on Catholic Community Action
1027 Superior Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Ms. Dorothy Hokenstad
L.W.V. of Cuyahoga County
2917 Weymouth
Cleveland, Ohio 44120

zer Bradley
Area Citizens Agency
st 147th Street
nd, Ohio 44120

Ms. Mary Vadas
Com. on Catholic Community Action
4748 Columbia Rd., #201
N. Olmsted, Ohio 44070

Ms. Catherine Vintilla
L.W.V. of Cuyahoga County
4405 Valley Forge Drive
Fairview Park, Ohio 44126

ter J. Smith
Area Citizens Agency
ron Road
nd, Ohio 44115

Ms. Hazel White
Cleveland YWCA
3201 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Ms. Marianne Pinney
Lake Erie Girl Scout Council
1001 Huron Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

mas Watson, Jr.
eve. Neighborhood Cen.
coln Bldg.
nd, Ohio 44115

Ms. Judy Airhart
Cleveland YWCA
4613 Broadale Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44109

Ms. Billy Cunningham
Lake Erie Girl Scout Council
5655 Lafayette Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44137

iel R. Elliott, Jr.
eve. Neighborhood Cen.
ion Commerce Bldg.
nd, Ohio 44114

Mr. Donald J. Connolley
Presbytery of W. Reserve
6047 Somerset Dr.
N. Olmsted, Ohio 44070

Mr. George M. Edwards
Area Councils Assn. of Cleve.
10919 Pasadena Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio 44108

een Kassen
Community Federation
rwick Road
nd, Ohio 44120

Ms. Jane Anderson
Presbytery of W. Reserve
3912 Idlewild
Rocky River, Ohio 44116

Rev. David Cole
West Shore Unitarian Church
20401 Hilliard Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio 44116

dan C. Band
ty Rels/City of Cleve.
d Court Building
nd, Ohio 44114

Rev. Stanley Borden
Cleve. Baptist Association
2246 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Ms. Elaine Carlson
YWCA
3201 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

ard Rieger
Community Federation
clid Avenue
nd, Ohio 44115

Mr. David Goss
Cleve. Baptist Association
2675 Green Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44122

Mr. Alan Davis
Inner City Protestant Parish
320 Superior Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

l M. Jackson
ty Rels/City of Cleve.
eside, Room 11
nd, Ohio 44114

Rev. George Nishimoto
West Side Ecumenical Ministry
4315 Bridge
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

Mrs. Tommie Patty
Inner City Protestant Parish
3420 East 145th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44120

l Haake
. - Ohio Chapter
ttage Grove
nd Hts., OH 44118

Mr. Dave Miller
West Side Ecumenical Ministry
14335 Lorain, #217 BN
Cleveland, Ohio 44120

Mr. Sidney Josephs
Federation for Com. Planning
616 The Arcade
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

kwell H. Davis
ealth Ins. Plan of Ohio
uclid Avenue
nd, Ohio 44115

nald Jacobs
r Cleve. Inter. Council
uclid Avenue
nd, Ohio 44115

speh Jasper
n Metro Ministry Assc.
Harvard Avenue
nd, Ohio 44122

bert Seltz
n Metro Ministry Assc.
orain Road
w Park, Ohio 44126

dy DiNardo
ty of St. Malachi
terbury Road
d, Ohio 44107

m Corcoran
ty of St. Malachi
tely Road
lage, Ohio 44146

omas L. Cromwell
ted Methodist Church
clid Avenue
nd, Ohio 44115

es D. Johnson
stend Ave.
nd, Ohio 44108

bert Airhart
d. United Methodist Ch
arl Road
nd, Ohio 44109

mi Fackler
of S. Euclid/Lyndhurst
kridge Drive
nd Hts., Ohio 44121

key Ruben
of S.Euclid/Lyndhurst
rsh Road
id, Ohio 44121

Rev. Donald Gordon
Hough/Norwood/Goodrich Coalition
4001 Superior Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44103

Mr. Robert Short
Bell Neighborhood Center
8555 Hough Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Ms. Nancy Parkhurst
Cleveland YMCA
E. 22nd and Prospect
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Ms. Florence Hangach
Fed. of Catholic Com. Services
1027 Superior Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Ms. Alice Monroe
Catholic Counseling Services
1001 Huron Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Ms. Chris Black
Episcopal Diocese of Ohio
21151 Lake Road
Rocky River, Ohio 44116

Mr. Gary Hays
Episcopal Diocese of Ohio
7829 Euclid Ave., Room 209
Cleveland, Ohio 44103

Mrs. Bruce Campbell
Center for Huamn Services
1043 Wilbert Road
Lakewood, Ohio 44107

Mr. Nathan W. Oakes
Center for Human Services
1001 Huron Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Mr. Harold Ticktin
American Jewish Congress
930 Keith Building
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Ms. Selma Savren
American Jewish Congress
2000 Lee Road
Cleveland Hts., Ohio 44118

Mr. Anita Polk
Glenville Area Com. Council
1076 E. 98th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44108

Ms. Helen Collier
Glenville Area Com. Council
1182 E. 99th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44108

Ms. Gail Long
C.E.E.N. - Clark Fulton Center
3405 Clark Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44109

Mr. Michael Charney
C.E.E.N.
3402 Clinton Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

Ms. Rose Masing
Women Speak Out
3220 W. 38th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44109

Ms. Blanche Livingstone
Women Speak Out
1852 Lee Road
Cleveland Hts., Ohio 44118

Rev. Charles Johnson
Future Outlook League
10200 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Ms. Marilyn Parr
L.W.V. of Lakewood
1129 Forest Road
Lakewood, Ohio 44107

Ms. Julia Petonic
L.W.V. of Lakewood
1465 Parkwood Road
Lakewood, Ohio 44107

Mr. Robert Blattner
American Jewish Committee
650 Terminal Tower
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

atricia Pletkin
can Jewish Committee
Parkland
eand, Ohio 44122

Ms. Anita Curry
N.A. B.S.W.
1001 Huron Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

at Ferrante
Park Community Council
Bradgate Ave.
land, Ohio 44111

hyllis Mucha
Park Community Council
Lydian Avenue
land, Ohio 44111

ohn W. Battiste
land Tenants Organization
Huron Road
land, Ohio 44115

homas W. Adler
n, Lang, Free & Smythe
Investment Plaza
land, Ohio 44114

ichard H. Adler
n Association
nion Commerce Bldg.
land, Ohio 44115

ajorie S. Ramp
d Church of Christ
Broadview Road
land, Ohio 44109

r Kathleen Cooney
ine Nuns of Cleveland
Lake Shore Blvd.
land, Ohio 44110

r Michael Marie
ont School for Girls
Fairmount Blvd.
land Hts., Ohio 44118

nes Clark
of Euclid
t 209th Street
, Ohio 44123

rothy Fike
of Euclid
Delaware Road
, Ohio 44117

APPENDIX G

The Responsibilities of Committees

Neighborhood Response

- develop a liason relationship with and provide advice to the coalition of neighborhood serving agencies that has been developed through the efforts of the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council.

- work with the Federation for Community Planning to consider how activities of the summer youth program might be developed to assist in shaping neighborhood response to desegregation outcomes.

- begin discussions with the Community Relations Board of the City of Cleveland.

- with the coalition of neighborhood serving agencies begin exploring possibilities for human relations efforts.

- stimulate the issuance of a directory of services and other information useful during desegregation process.

- work with other organizations on issues of rumor control and neighborhood information.

- consider how neighborhood volunteers might be used to provide security.

- develop alternative processes for neighborhood involvement in any desegregation planning that evolves from the court case.

Educational Alternatives

- develop detailed information on demography, political and geographic boundaries, migration patterns, school locations, etc.

- collate basic information on school enrollments, finances, curriculum offerings, compensatory programs, drop-out and suspension rates, pupil achievement data, college and job placement data.

- develop educational criteria that can be applied to evaluate any proposed plan (whether voluntary or court-ordered) and measurements that can be employed to evaluate the implementation of any plan.

- develop specific alternative proposals for the application of various desegregation techniques in Cleveland.

- develop specific alternative proposals for educational innovations like those encountered in Minneapolis, Boston, and elsewhere, including special relationships with higher education, business and cultural institutions.

- begin discussions with teacher groups, administrator groups, and PTA's on the issues involved.

- continue discussions with state and federal educational officials.

- initiate discussions with local higher education institutions.

- outline training programs that might be used with teachers, administrators, students.

- explore possible cooperative efforts with suburban systems.

Community Relations

- have behind the scenes discussions with
  a. the Greater Cleveland Growth Association and other business leadership
  b. the media
  c. the Cleveland and Cuyahoga County Bar Association
  d. local foundations
  e. labor
  f. the U. S. Department of Justice and Civil Rights Commission
  g. the Cleveland Federal Executive Board
  h. the Catholic Diocese
  i. the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council
  j. the Jewish Community Federation
  k. United Torch Services
  l. elected officials
  m. Cleveland Public Board members and senior officials
  n. public safety officials

  These discussions will include a presentation of what has been learned from our study and field trips, and will begin negotiations on what constructive roles individuals and groups can play in assisting the community to respond to any decision that the court reaches.

- work with a public relations firm to explore possibilities for a media campaign.

- prepare public statements for issuance at key points.

:jcm
12/4/75

Schools' Future Not in Busing

The Cleveland school board and the Cleveland branch of the NAACP are about to butt heads on the problem of school segregation. The NAACP is on the verge of going to federal court to demand desegregation of a system with 145,000 pupils in more than 170 schools.

The NAACP has not asked for large-scale busing to achieve integration. It has simply told the board it must come up with some acceptable plan for desegregation.

But considering the realities of school and residential patterns and the NAACP's national policy, it is difficult to see how the local branch can be talking about anything but busing. This would be a bad solution. Before the issue goes to court, or at least before it gets very far in court, the board, the NAACP and involved third parties should make a concerted effort to find alternatives.

Cleveland's public schools reflect the fact that it is a residentially segregated city. The process of neighborhood change and strategies of site selection for new schools produce occasional limited integration, but no extensive break in the present pattern could be achieved without wholesale daily movement of children to schools at some distance from their homes.

In pressing this issue, the burden of proof is on the NAACP to show that this movement would be:

- Educationally beneficial.
- More profitable — educationally, psychologically or whatever — than present arrangements and special programs which busing would disrupt.
- Financially feasible, considering the Cleveland system's serious money troubles.
- Welcomed by the black community.

None of these prerequisites has been established, and there is reason to doubt all of them. Several studies in other cities, for example, have found scant gain from busing in any category but intensified racial polarization.

In Cleveland, a series by Plain Dealer reporter Richard M. Peery outlined extensive improvements in the schools which black pressure helped bring about — better buildings and equipment, better programs, more black representation in the construction force and on policy-making levels of the school system.

Peery found little evidence that black parents wanted busing for integration's sake. Similarly, in Atlanta last month, black parents' opposition to busing helped end a 15-year-old NAACP lawsuit against that city's school board. The compromise agreement provides for limited busing — 2,700 children — but requires appointment of a black superintendent and a 50% black administrative staff.

As a result, the national NAACP has suspended the Atlanta branch's leadership for what it called a violation of policy.

The question is, is the policy valid or is the NAACP alienating itself from the black community's real desires? Is it failing — in Cleveland — to take into account successes which the NAACP itself helped achieve in the quality of education for children of minority groups?

Schools must know the neighborhoods in which they are situated and serve their needs. In the black ghettos, for instance, they must help the community overcome what has been called its colonial status. This is not possible if pupils are hauled daily to the other end of the city.

In a speech last month, Arnold R. Pinkney, president of the Cleveland school board, said: "If people are poor, they are not free; if they do not have the opportunity to improve themselves, they are not free. The road to economic independence is quality education for everyone. We, as school board members, must set goals — attainable goals. . . . Those who tell us that there is a panacea only delay decisions that must be made."

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THE PLAIN DEALER

OHIO'S LARGEST NEWSPAPER

THOMAS VAIL
Publisher and Editor

ROY O. KOPP
Business Manager

THOMAS R. GUTHRIE
Executive Editor

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Page 4-B Cleveland, Ohio Tuesday, October 22, 1974

School lessons from Boston

What is happening in Boston is not necessarily a preview of what would happen here if the NAACP's suit against the Cleveland school system should end with an order to integrate the schools by busing children.

We would not attempt to predict the outcome of the local suit or to compare the local case to the NAACP's case in Boston. But there are points in the reports from Boston by Plain Dealer reporters George E. Condon Jr. and Robert G. McGruder that should be carefully noted by local leaders.

The most important is the necessity of thorough preparation for any type of court-ordered desegregation. In Boston white opponents of busing apparently believed, with the encouragement of the Boston School Committee, that the court's order would somehow be set aside. That did not happen, and the reaction to the buses rolling was probably more violent because the possibility had not been perceived as real.

If the Cleveland schools were ordered to bus pupils to achieve racial balance, there would certainly be court appeals. Busing would not begin the day after the decision.

But even during the appeal process, local leaders and school officials would have a responsibility to prepare both the black and white communities here for the possibility that appeals might be lost and that a busing order would have to be obeyed if it were upheld.

We agree with Paul W. Briggs, Cleveland superintendent of schools, who, in his annual report last week, called busing the least acceptable and least successful method of school integration. Busing would not be welcomed as a remedy to racial isolation by either black or white parents here. If Cleveland is required to devise a formal plan to achieve integration, we hope that some solution other than busing can be found.

Nevertheless, blind resistance to the possibility would be dangerous to this community. It has led in Boston to violence against children, who of all the persons affected are the least able to change their situation. Such violence cannot be tolerated, much less encouraged by allowing adults to believe that their prejudices can ever supersede the law.

THE PLAIN DEALER

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using plan is non-winner

The battle over busing school children achieve racial balance has not abated the closing of schools for the sum-. It has moved off the streets and onto printed page.

Dr. James S. Coleman, who nearly a de ago reported that classroom inte-ion appeared to benefit black students poor families without handicapping e students, now has expressed fear court-ordered busing in large cities is terproductive. Because mandatory ng accelerates the exodus of white lies from cities, busing creates more egation than it eliminates, he says.

The black mayor of Detroit, Coleman ng, used the same argument to oppose ywide busing plan proposed there.

Dr. Kenneth Clark, however, whose of the effects of segregation was al in striking down Southern laws enforced separate schools for blacks whites, has accused Dr. Coleman of a spokesman for urban Northerners seek to avoid having the principles of 954 decision applied to their school ms. Other critics have attacked Cole-s research methods.

Still other scholars disagree whether rch done over the last 20 years shows ignificant benefit from desegregation her race.

The Cleveland public school system is bject of a desegregation suit filed by the NAACP. If the NAACP charges are upheld, and if the federal court requires that local schools be racially balanced to reflect the composition of the total enrollment, it is difficult to see how such numerical balance could be achieved quickly except by busing.

The Plain Dealer believes, however, that busing is the least practical way to overcome the isolation of blacks and whites from each other. Mandatory busing would be profoundly disturbing to this community, and by no means could the resistance to busing be attributed solely to white or black racism.

We are in full agreement with former U.S. Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe, who said, in one of his last speeches as attorney general: "The nation must not have a new sort of Civil War fought on the installment plan, with violence leap-frogging from city to city."

Here in Cleveland the quality of educational opportunity is even between black and white schools. However, because of housing patterns, black and white children can grow up isolated from one another. That isolation promotes ignorance, fear and suspicion. Some way must be found to overcome those effects of racial isolation. We have not yet seen any evidence that busing, which has created racial conflict in almost every large city in which it has been tried, can do that job.

GIVE LIGHT AND THE PEOPLE WILL FIND THEIR OWN WAY

The Cleveland Press

A Scripps-Howard Newspaper

THOMAS L. BOARDMAN, Editor ROBERT H. HARTMANN, Business Manager

OHIO'S LARGEST EVENING NEWSPAPER

Tuesday, Apr. 6, 1976 5★6★ PAGE B 4

Perk's posture on busing

Mayor Perk's decision to join Boston in an appeal against court-ordered school busing is ill conceived and ill timed.

The mayor intends Cleveland to be a "friend of the court," along with several other cities, protesting to the U.S. Supreme Court that Boston's busing plan goes beyond what a lower court had ordered.

His motive, says Perk, is to have guidelines established for federal judges in cases where busing can be an issue. That statement has the ring of political double talk.

Federal Judge Frank Battisti will rule in the near future on the NAACP suit which accuses the Cleveland public schools of segregation. If the NAACP wins the suit, Judge Battisti will order a desegregation plan drawn which could include busing.

Busing is an emotional issue for many reasons. It can, and often does, pit blacks against whites. Parents worry about the quality of education their children will get and the hostility they may be exposed to. Worst of all, violence sometimes erupts.

By playing politics with school segregation, Perk is taking a course exactly opposite to what a responsible mayor should be doing.

Two Cleveland State University professors, experts at school desegregation, told a City Club audience last Friday that cities which have integrated their schools most successfully are those which had enlightened leadership at the top.

Professors Charles W. Case and R. Jerrald Shive cited Minneapolis as a city where integration was accomplished smoothly. There the political leaders, along with school officials, businessmen, the news media and church and civic organizations worked together to mix the schools and improve them at the same time.

This kind of cooperation is most effective if it starts before a busing order — not after it.

Prof. Case said he saw encouraging signs that many groups in Cleveland are working together to achieve peaceful integration in Cleveland if and when busing comes.

Already the Cleveland Project, a coalition of 25 church and social organizations, is at work in neighborhoods which could be affected by school integration. And a group headed by the Greater Cleveland Growth Assn. has its lines out to the business power structure here. Unfortunately, those lines do not seem to lead to the mayor's office.

Leonard B. Stevens, director of the Greater Cleveland Project, put the school issue in focus when he said: "You can throw rocks or you can accept the law and say, 'How can I get more (education) to my kid and how do I go about it'?"

We should not have a figurative rock thrower in the mayor's office. Perk should bow out of the suit.

The NAACP may lose its case here. But if it doesn't, there will be serious school and social issues to deal with. The mayor should take the lead in planning for change, instead of running the other way.

THE PLAIN DEALER 6/14/76

Arguing from ignorance

A Euclid group that is against busing children to school for racial desegregation is premature in its pledge of local opposition to a busing plan, as are other similar groups.

What is worse, the Euclid group, Citizens for Neighborhood Schools (CNS), appears to base its opposition to busing on a misunderstanding of the issue in the NAACP's suit against the Cleveland Board of Education.

It must be pointed out, in the first place, that no decision has yet been made in the case. A desegregation plan, which may or may not require extensive busing, will be devised only if that decision were to go against the school system.

In its initial position paper CNS said, "If some schools are inferior, the remedy is to improve the schools and the educational opportunities — to change the schools — not the students."

Reiterating the point, CNS asked, "Why should a student be bused to an inferior school to receive an inferior education? If a school is inferior for a black student, wouldn't that school also be inferior for the bused white students?"

The point of the desegregation case is not the superiority or inferiority of any school or schools. The NAACP did not contend in the Cleveland case that white schools were favored over black schools and that black children, therefore, received an inferior education.

This is not the issue. White schools and black schools here could be, and very possibly are, equal in every respect, but if children have deliberately been segregated on the basis of race, the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that their educational opportunities are inherently unequal.

The only question before U.S. District Judge Frank J. Battisti is whether Cleveland school officials are responsible for racial segregation in the city school system, and, if they are, what must be done to correct the situation.

CNS is as entitled as any other group to express its viewpoint about the possible participation of the children of its adherents in a busing program. But CNS, or any similar group, cannot expect its viewpoint to be accorded respectability when it argues from plain ignorance of the legal and educational issues of desegregation.

GIVE LIGHT AND THE PEOPLE WILL FIND THEIR OWN WAY

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A Scripps-Howard Newspaper

THOMAS L. BOARDMAN, Editor WILLIAM A. HOLCOMBE, Business Manager

OHIO'S LARGEST EVENING NEWSPAPER

Tuesday, August 31, 1976 5★-6★ PAGE A 6

The school decision

The ruling by Federal Judge Frank Battisti finding the Cleveland School Board guilty of fostering segregation in the public schools here cannot come as much of a surprise to anyone.

Considering the great mass of evidence presented by the NAACP, speculation all along has been that the NAACP would win its case.

Cleveland Schools Supt. Paul Briggs and the black president of the School Board, Arnold Pinkney, have worked hard to provide quality education for the youngsters in this community.

But according to the Constitution of this country they and their predecessors did not work hard enough to see that boys and girls here were going to schools that are racially mixed to a degree that would satisfy the law of the land.

Battisti found that the board's policy was a "deliberate, conscious intent . . . to segregate public school pupils on the basis of race."

That seems somewhat harsh in the light of the segregated housing pattern in Cleveland. If anything, the board did not strive hard enough to overcome in the schools a pattern of segregation that has existed in this city for years.

Naturally, there is going to be apprehension on the part of many parents, and students, wondering what actions will flow from the court's decision.

We are all too familiar with the hostility and violence in Boston and Louisville after court-ordered integration of the schools there.

To focus on those two cities, though, is to ignore the well-documented fact that in many other cities court-ordered integration has proceeded peacefully and has not caused widespread disruptions.

A great deal will depend on the actions of political and civic leaders here. Mayor Perk can be an enormous force in quieting the natural fears of parents in this city.

Perk has tremendous influence in the ethnic community, which may not receive Judge Battisti's ruling with equanimity. Perk has a great opportunity to be a statesman, to urge his constituency to remain cool and follow peacefully the dictates of the court.

The judge has placed a heavy burden on an advisory board which will draw up a plan for desegregation. The board must decide whether it can implement the court order without busing. Certainly desegregation will be easier to accept if it can be accomplished without busing. There are other avenues — greater use of magnet schools and redrawing of district lines come immediately to mind.

Battisti's ruling inevitably will cause ferment. How this city reacts will be a test of its heart, its cohesiveness and the quality of its leadership.

APPENDIX I
Briggs/Pinkney Memo

CLEVELAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MAY 11 1976

1380 East Sixth Street • Cleveland, Ohio, 44114 • Telephone 696-2929

W. BRIGGS
perintendent

May 5, 1976

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: P.T.A. UNIT PRESIDENTS AND OTHER RELATED PARENT GROUPS

FROM: ARNOLD R. PINKNEY, PRESIDENT, CLEVELAND BOARD OF EDUCATION
PAUL W. BRIGGS, SUPERINTENDENT

RE: QUESTIONS RELATED TO CLEVELAND DESEGREGATION CASE

We have been reluctant to issue a statement because to do so might be interpreted as an attempt to influence the decision which has not been announced. The activities of the recently appointed and funded Ad Hoc Committees which have been moving about the community holding meetings and making statements about the case have created confusion and misapprehension among parents and other citizens of Cleveland. As a result, the pre-enrollment of kindergarten children for next fall is off 40 per cent.

Some of the questions parents most frequently ask of us are:

1. (Q) When do we expect to receive a decision from the court?

   (A) We don't know. Probably in the spring or summer. It was a long and complex trial. Because of their importance, court decisions are not hastily written.

2. (Q) Do we see massive re-assignment for students this fall?

   (A) No, the court must first decide if the Cleveland Public Schools are guilty of causing segregation. If the court should rule against the schools, the next step would be for the court to direct that a plan be developed to desegregate the schools. Courts normally allow ample time to develop such plans. It is highly improbable that any plan could be developed and implemented by September 1976.

3. (Q) Should we listen to the advice of those who are telling us that busing is inevitable and we should now make other arrangements for our children's schooling?

   (A) We see no cause for alarm! Do not listen to this kind of advice. Parents should remain in Cleveland and plan to continue to keep their children enrolled in the Cleveland Public Schools. Our schools have a good reputation and should not be abandoned.

4. (Q) If Cleveland would get an order to massively re-assign students, where would the needed funds to implement this order come from?

   (A) We don't know. In other cities the money for busing has come out of local revenues. This means monies presently used for teachers, books, and other instructional materials would, in part, go for busing.

5. (Q) What, if anything, has the Cleveland Public School System done to foster desegregation in the schools?

   (A) The Cleveland School System has systematically planned and implemented a variety of schools, programs and activities to further integration. Attached is a summary which will, in part, answer this question.

ARP/PWB/pm

APPENDIX J

STATEMENT BY: BERTHINA E. PALMER
CLEVELAND BOARD OF EDUCATION
MAY 13, 1976

Prefacing my remarks I would like to say that as a Board Member I have been informed on several occasions that I have the right to speak out whenever I want, on whatever subjects I want and I would like to make it clear that I have understood this completely. And, the fact that I have not spoken out on some issues with which I felt some sense of disagreement was not because I am timid but rather it was a sense of trying to be a member of the team -- and a supporter of team action. I firmly believe that unity in an organization usually denotes strength. I do not believe now that this is particularly the case here.

Speaking as one member of the Board of Education, I cannot any longer continue to sit back and let policy --or that that I believe to be policy -- be circulated within the school community or the general community go without my personal comment if in fact it has been made or decided upon but not approved by the Cleveland Board of Education. I feel strongly that policy should be made, as the law so states, by the Cleveland Board of Education. If I do not agree with the decision of the board, I will at all times after having expressed my opinions to my fellow board members, reserve my personal right to make my position clear to the general public.

I believe that the role of a Board of Education is to develop the policy by which the schools shall be operated. I take by board membership seriously and I consider it as a responsibility to the people of this community -- to the 125,000 students who are all my children -- and last but not least, to myself. I consider myself to be the eyes, ears and voice of the Cleveland community and I intend to be just that.

I have been a recipient of information by way of the "grapevine" on many occasions -- sometimes never to be informed in any other fasion unless I specifically question it. I have indicated my sense of concern about this at past meetings. I also hear quite frequently about "board policy" as it has been relayed to people throughout this community. My complaint is that the general public accepts these various edicts as "board policy" and I as a board member have no knowledge of these questions, answers or decisions being discussed by the elected Board.

I realize that the sense of urgency in tackling a particular problem might cloud the vision of some as to the difference between policy and administration. But I submit that there is a difference.

I particularly want to refer to an article that appeared in the Plain Dealer on Friday, May 7th. As a member of the Cleveland Board of Education I "read it first in the newspapers." Later that same day I received my copy through the mail -- as did I suppose several hundred other persons. I think there is a difference between me and a PTA Unit President -- and that difference is that I am a member of the Cleveland Board of Education.

I further take strong exception to that portion of the statement which states "We have been reluctant to issue a statement because to do so might be interpreted as an attempt to influence the decision which has not been announced. The activities of the recently appointed and funded Ad Hoc Committees which have been moving about the community holding meetings and making statements about the case have created confusion and mis-apprehension among parents and other citizens of Cleveland. As a result, the pre-enrollment of kindergarten children for next fall is off 40 per cent."

I firmly believe that quality integrated education should be our goal and that it can be accomplished, but only with the help of the entire community. It is not a secret that a decision from Federal Court is expected soon in a desegregation suit against the Cleveland Board of Education. No one knows what that decision will be. If, however, the decree should in any way be "against" the Cleveland Board of Education, I know, or perhaps I should say "I hope" that the Cleveland Board of Education, located in the best location in the nation, is going to take the kind of leadership role that is incumbent upon them as elected members of the Board and as intelligent, law abiding citizens of this community.

Call me if you will "the devil's advocate." But my hopes are very simple -- I want each and every youngster in the Cleveland Public Schools to receive a good quality education. At the present time I do believe there are some variances. And, I only wish that the half-million dollars going in legal

fees for the desegregation suit could have gone into teachers, books, other educational resources and improving the condition of some of our buildings.

I am only one -- and I know that I am only one. And, perhaps I am somewhat naive. But as one person I have the responsibility to do all that I can to do what I feel is right and just. No matter what else you may feel, I hope you will credit me with honesty and intelligence.

So even though I am only one -- and mine may be just a voice in the wilderness -- I hope somebody out there will hear me.

# # #

APPENDIX K

Study Group Memo
June 2, 1976

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Members of the Study Group on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools

FROM: Rolland F. Smith, Chairman

RE: The Proposed Clearinghouse on Racial Isolation in the Schools

INTRODUCTION

In my role as Chairman of the Study Group, I have received a request from Lee C. Howley, Jr., to attend the first organizational meeting of the proposed Clearinghouse on June 7. Similar requests may have been sent to other organizations represented on the Study Group. The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize the Clearinghouse and to raise concerns that would be appropriate for you to share with the organization you represent as it considers a response to the Clearinghouse request.

I. SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSED CLEARINGHOUSE

The Clearinghouse has been created by the board members and staff leadership at the Growth Association. Herbert Strawbridge, Thomas Adler and Lee C. Howley, Jr. are the initial trustees. Lee C. Howley, Jr. has been appointed executive director. Mr. Howley met with the Study Group on May 19 to discuss the objectives of The Clearinghouse. He provided a general summary of purpose and organizational structure at that time, and subsequently has provided copies of the Articles of Incorporation and a preliminary draft of regulations for The Clearinghouse.

As shown in the draft regulations, The Clearinghouse will be set up as a non-profit corporation made up of representatives from many community organizations, political leaders and with the expressed intent of also including representatives of the Cleveland School Board and the N.A.A.C.P. Attached as Exhibit A to this memorandum is the proposed membership list for The Clearinghouse as presented in the draft regulations.

At his meeting with the Study Group, Mr. Howley expressed two basic objectives for The Clearinghouse: (1) to act as a source of information for all interested community organizations, and (2) to act as a forum where the parties to the lawsuit can come together.

The preliminary draft of the corporate regulations creates twenty-three classes of "member," each class consisting of one person. The function of each "member" is to select one "trustee" to be a "class trustee" representing the particular class of the "member" making the selection, and to have one vote in the selection of "general trustees." There can be as many as fifty trustees. If the twenty-three members do not select enough "general trustees" to make up a fifty-person board, a majority vote at a meeting of trustees (without regard to classification) may elect additional "general trustees" until a limit of fifty trustees is reached. There is no stated restriction on who may be a "general trustee." A full board could thus be composed of twenty-three "class trustees" representing community organizations and twenty-seven "general trustees" from undefined positions, each having one vote on the board. The Board of Trustees is to exercise all authority of the corporation, though the trustees may establish an executive committee with full authority to act for the board on all matters. Because of the intended size of the Board of Trustees, it would almost be a necessity to create such a committee for the corporation to function.

The preliminary draft regulations also provide for a president and other standard corporate officers. The president is to have general supervision, direction and control of the corporation, subject to election and removal by the board of trustees. Lee C. Howley, Jr. has been referred to as "executive director" of The Clearinghouse, though there is no provision in the draft regulations for such a position. It is unclear what the comparative roles of president and exeuctive director would be, if both are to exist.

The material provided at the May 19, 1976 meeting of the Study Group included an organization chart (attached as Exhibit B to this memorandum) with a "Board of Governors" to advise the trustees and a "Professional Advisory Committee" to advise the executive director and trustees. The make-up of these two entities is not addressed in the draft regulations.

II. MAJOR CONCERNS

A. Neutrality. The Study Group has intentionally and carefully maintained a neutral position with respect to the current litigation. It would seem advisable that The Clearinghouse receive affirmative written responses from the three principal parties to the school desegregation suit indicating their willingness to participate in The Clearinghouse and their acceptance of its organizational structure and activities. Absent such participation, The Clearinghouse could be subject to criticism.

B. Purposes. The purposes, as stated in the Articles of Incorporation, are (1) to serve as an information center; (2) to assemble and disseminate information; (3) to identify categories of information not now available; and (4) to build community understanding of any court decisions -- all with respect to racial isolation "in the schools of Greater Cleveland." A fifth purpose in the Articles, with a slight shift in the scope of geography, is to explain to the community the various appropriate responses to government or court programs concerning racial isolation "in the schools of Cleveland." This is conditioned with a requirement "that the purposes of the organization shall not include the advocacy of any particular method of reducing racial isolation in the schools." No work plan for the proposed Clearinghouse has been offered. At no point do the materials state that the Clearinghouse will support the court in its findings; nor do the materials state that the Clearinghouse will urge peaceful implementation of a constitutionally acceptable remedy if there is a finding of liability against the defendant(s).

The major innovative feature of the proposed Clearinghouse is an attempt to bring all parties to the litigation together. Because virtually all of the other tasks are now being done by existing organizations, the value of or need for a new organization, expecially if it does not include all the parties to the litigation, is something that should be thoughtfully considered.

C. Timing. It is likely that a decision in the Cleveland case will be forthcoming from the District Court shortly. In other cities where there has been a finding of liability, the courts frequently have ordered their own structure and format for involvement by community organizations. With a decision eminent in Cleveland, it may be both unproductive and premature to try to bring all parties to the suit together now.

D. Organization. The complex structure, large board membership, and open qualification for "general trustees" assures an uncertain decision-making and accountability process for the organizations participating in The Clearinghouse. Absent affirmative participation by all parties to the litigation, the question of control and neutrality is one that must be carefully examined.

The proposed membership list for The Clearinghouse includes virtually all the organizations participating in the Study Group. However, even with the expressed intent that The Clearinghouse should be more broad-based than current organizations, representation from Cleveland's ethnic organizations is noticeably weak.

III. CONCLUSION

I urge you to share these comments, and any you might wish to add, with the leadership and membership of the organization you represent. As representatives of some fourteen community organizations, it may be appropriate to urge your organization to consider and measure carefully the written response of the three parties involved in the litigation to the purposes and organization of the proposed Clearinghouse.

* * *

RFS:jmu

EXHIBIT A

Classification of Members

Class A -- President of the Cleveland Board of Education

Class B -- Mayor of the City of Cleveland

Class C -- President of the Cleveland Division of the N.A.A.C.P.

Class D -- Chairman of the Board of the Greater Cleveland Growth Association

Class E -- President of the Urban League of Cleveland

Class F -- President of the Nationalities Service Center

Class G -- President of the Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor

Class H -- Vice President of the Teamsters Joint Council No. 41

Class I -- President of the City Council of Cleveland

Class J -- President of the Regional Transit Authority

Class K -- President of the Jewish Community Federation

Class L -- Bishop of the Cleveland Diocese of the Catholic Church

Class M -- President of the Citizens League of Greater Cleveland

Class N -- President of the Cleveland League of Women Voters

Class O -- Chairman of the Board of United Torch Services

Class P -- President of the Cleveland Parent Teachers Association

Class Q -- President of the Baptist Ministerial Conference

Class R -- President of the Cleveland Interchurch Council

Class S -- Editor of the Call & Post

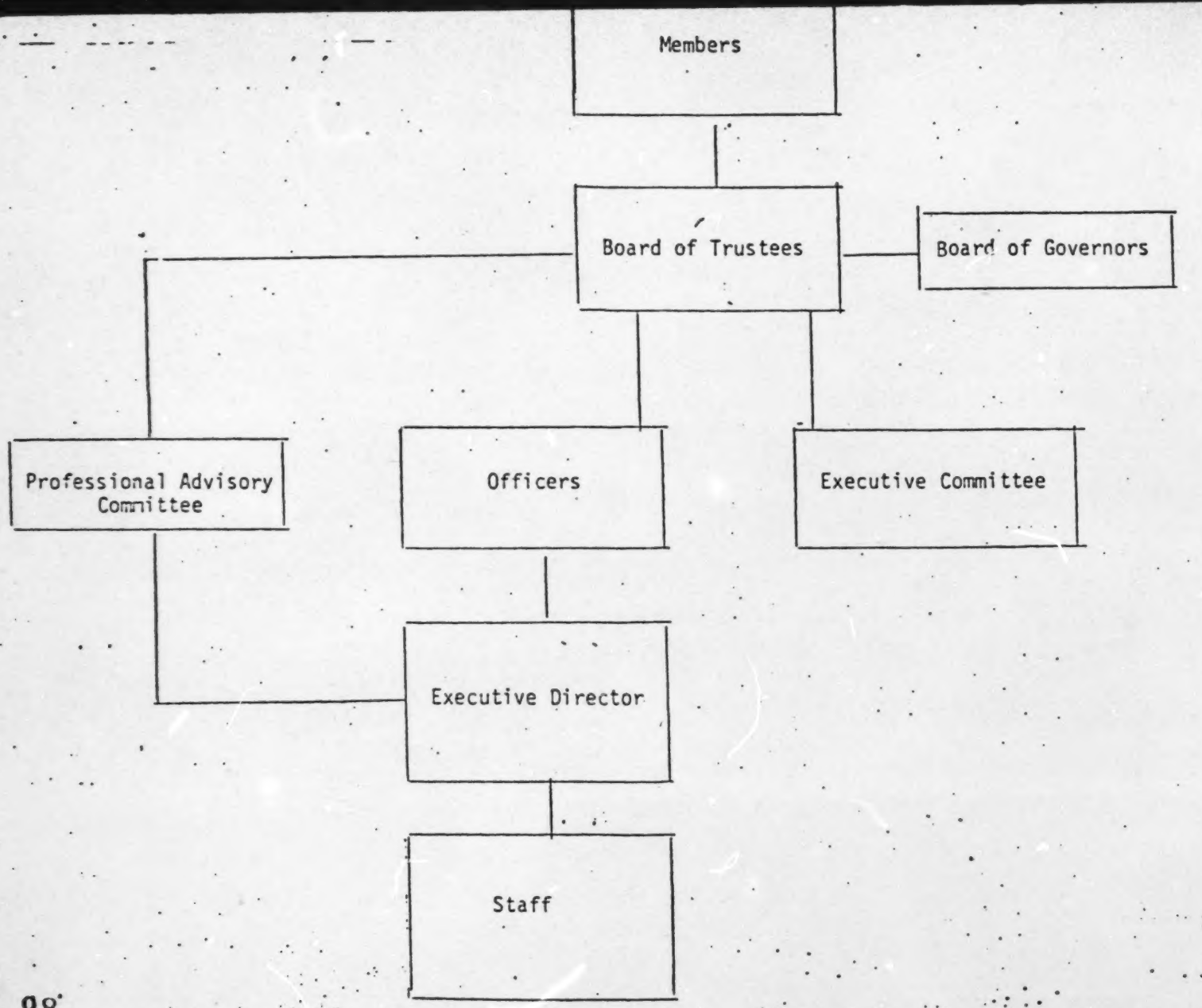
Class T -- President of the Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers

Class U -- Chairman of the Greater Cleveland Project

Class V -- Chairman of the Study Group on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools

Class W -- President of the Federation for Community Planning

EXHIBIT B


Members
Board of Trustees
Board of Governors
Professional Advisory Committee
Officers
Executive Committee
Executive Director
Staff

Study Group on Racial Isolation
in the Public Schools
700 National City Bank Building
Cleveland, OH 44114
861-3810

June 1, 1976

Mr. Lee C. Howley, Jr.
The Clearinghouse
The Arcade
Rooms 337-339
Cleveland, OH 44114

Dear Lee:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 25 and supporting documents detailing the background of the Clearinghouse on Racial Isolation in the Schools. As you know, this issue is very much in the forefront of community concerns and the Study Group has commended and encouraged thoughtful work in this area. Since July, 1975 our Study Group has devoted considerable energy and effort to understanding the facts of the lawsuit. The Study Group has committed itself to assisting with peaceful implementation the decision that is ultimately rendered, whatever it might be. We are also committed to seek constructive and constitutionally acceptable ways to reduce racial isolation and polarization wherever it exists.

While information we have received on the Clearinghouse to date raises a number of questions as to the purpose and organization of the Clearinghouse and the degree to which it duplicates on-going activities, members of our Community Relations Subcommittee and I will be happy to attend your organizational meeting to discuss these matters, and to offer any technical assistance that might be useful.

Sincerely,

Rolland F. Smith

RFS:jmu

Greater Cleveland Project Advertisement

APPENDIX L

The Testing of Our Community...

The School Desegregation Case

ow that the Federal Court has ruled in the ase of Reed versus Rhodes, our Community ust respond positively to the Court's finding

Ve, the citizens of Greater Cleveland, ust display respect for the law, the Court, and the dicial process — respect which is not only merited nd required but which permits the legal process work.

Ve, the citizens, must insure peace and anquility in our communities and on our streets r the safety of our children.

Ve, the citizens, expect our political aders to speak in favor of law and social order. en to people who disagree with the ruling of the urt. Our political leaders must behave responsi- and exert the constructive leadership that the uation requires.

Ve, the citizens, are confident that our hool officials will respond positively to the ruling the Court. As an urban community of diverse oples, we should view the Court's ruling as an portunity for quality integrated education.

The Greater Cleveland Project is a voluntary association of organizations, more than 30 in number, including some of the largest social service, civic and religious agencies in the area. Among them are:

League of Women Voters of Cleveland
United Area Citizens Agency
Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers Association
Jewish Community Federation
Cleveland Area Unit, Ohio Chapter — National Association of Social Workers
Commission on Catholic Community Action
Cleveland YWCA
Presbytery of Western Reserve
Cleveland Baptist Association
West Side Ecumenical Ministry
League of Women Voters of Cuyahoga County
Lake Erie Girl Scout Council
Cleveland Methodist District Council on Ministries
The Metropolitan Mission Council of the United Methodist Church of Greater Cleveland
Glenville Area Community Council
League of Women Voters of South Euclid-Lyndhurst
Hough/Norwood/Goodrich Ad Hoc Coalition
The Federation of Catholic Community Services
Area Councils Association of Greater Cleveland
West Shore Unitarian Church
Inner City Protestant Parish
Federation for Community Planning
Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council
Lutheran Metropolitan Ministry Association
Community of St. Malachi
Episcopal Diocese of Ohio
Center for Human Services
American Jewish Congress, Northern Ohio Council

The Greater Cleveland Project is committed to responsible community leadership, peaceful responses to the decisions of the Court, accurate and useful information for the use of the public, and quality integrated public education for all children. It is open to — and seeks the participation of — any organization or group in Greater Cleveland that shares our basic goals.

Our Community is about to be tested. We, the citizens of Greater Cleveland, must respond to this test in the highest democratic tradition and must uphold the order of the Court.

The Greater Cleveland Project Steering Committee

Daniel R. Elliott, Jr., Chairperson
Judy Airhart, Vice Chairperson
George Edwards, Vice Chairperson
Jordan Bond, Vice Chairperson
Louis A. Gleeson, Vice Chairperson
Billy Cunningham, Secretary
Dr. Maxwell Davis
Dorothy Hokenstad
Dr. Donald G. Jacobs
Robert Bond
Dr. Aileen Kassen

Leonard B. Stevens, Director

GCP The Greater Cleveland Project
2230 Euclid Avenue • Cleveland, Ohio 44115

This advertisement appeared in September 1976 in The Cleveland Press, The Plain Dealer, The Call and Post, The Catholic Universe Bulletin, The Cleveland Jewish News, and the West Side Sun.

Paul W. Briggs has cast himself as the central figure in the emotional controversy over busing school children for racial desegregation.

He has become a man possessed. Single-mindedly refusing to acknowledge the carefully documented legal conclusions of Federal Judge Frank Battisti that the city's schools have been intentionally segregated.

He emerges, five weeks after the court's ruling, convinced that he is now — more than ever — on the side of the angels.

Clearly, the superintendent of schools feels that he personally has been found guilty. That his policies over the past 12 years have been branded a failure in a court of law.

He wears the judgment like an ill-fitting mantle, determined to show the world that it was not made for him. The 63-year-old educator is fighting back.

We talked for nearly three hours one day this week and he never wavered from his position.

"I feel the decision was incorrect. Our board is unanimous. That is why we are appealing," he says sternly.

"And I think we are going to win."

One gets the feeling that the superintendent of schools in not talking merely for public consumption. He means it.

"I am not attacking the court or criticizing the judge. It is just that I feel very strongly that his decision was wrong. And I must honestly tell the people what I feel."

Paul Briggs is no lawyer. He doesn't claim total comprehension of the legal maneuvering of the complex court case.

But he says without hesitation: "There were more than 100 errors of fact in that decision. Each will be mentioned in our appeal."

Undoubtedly Briggs feels personally maligned by the decision of the court. He talks at great length about "doing the do-able" about "busing children to programs," about the desegregation of city schools in places such as Atlanta, Houston, Denver. About the troubles in Boston.

"I think I see the tides of change in cases that are coming from the courts today. I don't think they are going to permit Cleveland to become another Boston or Atlanta."

"I believe that the courts are going to take a whole new look at the area of remedy."

Q. You mean busing?

A. I mean massive reassignment of students for the sole purpose of racial balance. It hasn't worked. It won't work here.

Q. Then you tell parents that call you that they shouldn't worry about busing?

has been no final decision. That they should not panic. That they should keep their children in the Cleveland schools.

Q. Do you get a lot of calls from parents?

A. Yes, and I haven't had a single one who favors major or minor reassignment for the purposes of integration.

Q. Do they seem upset about what is happening?

A. Most of them are calm and philosophical.

Q. But there are those who say the schools are more segregated than ever, in spite of the things you have done in the past 12 years. How do you explain that?

(Briggs bristled at this question.)

A. This is a deeply divided city. The schools didn't divide it. It is wrong to put on the shoulders of children the responsibility for integration.

Q. But the courts have said that integration is a responsibility of the schools.

A. We have been experimenting with programs where we felt students from across town would become acquainted with each other. We are trying to do the do-able. We are offering programs that will work.

Q. Then you still favor voluntary rather than compulsory integration?

A. As I have said before, if I thought that massive reassignment of students would work, I would be for it. But I cannot find a city anywhere in this country where it is working. I do know this — if intergration is something we are working toward, forced re-assignment is counter-productive.

Q. Doesn't this approach you are taking stimulate open opposition to the courts?

A. Absolutely not. We will in no way implore or encourage opposition to the court.

Q. No matter what the court eventually orders?

A. That is right.

Q. Why did you make such an issue last week over the amount of busing that might be necessary to achieve racial balance in the Cleveland schools? Isn't that just stirring up unnecessary concern and emotion at this stage of the game?

A. I supplied in an affidavit to the Circuit Court of Appeals factual straight forward figures based on what the NAACP is asking for. We didn't bring up those guidelines, the NAACP did.

Q. Some say that your cost estimate of $75 million for the first year of busing is exaggerated. That you really need fewer buses. Is that accurate?

A. That is not accurate. You can-

every direction will be full. Nor can you assume that every bus we are forced to purchase will be the same size. If the NAACP prevails busing will be much more complicated than that. You must remember that the schools that are the most segregated at the extreme perimeters of the city. Therefore busing becomes an extremely difficult and expensive situation.

Q. You have said, and you continue to say that busing for desegregation will not work. What do you mean?

A. If the solution happens to be a mathematical division of students based on race, there is no way of doing it in Cleveland without creating a system of racially unbalanced schools. With our present school population there is no way to have a single integrated school in Cleveland in the eyes of the Department of Health Education and Welfare. By its standards any school that approaches 45 to 50% black is racially isolated. Even with massive busing we just don't have enough white kids in the Cleveland system.

Q. What is the answer, metropolitan busing?

A. I am saying that you cannot achieve desegregation through massive reassignment in Cleveland alone if the two escape hatches remain open, the suburbs and the private schools. What we are telling the court is that we have done everything short of massive reassignment, and our efforts were not even mentioned in the judge's decision.

Q. By the way, where would you get the $75 million you say would be needed for busing the first year, assuming that figure is correct.

A. I haven't the slightest idea. It can come only out of our yearly operating expenses.

Q. What share is that of your annual budget?

A. About half.

Q. Could you raise the money with a bond issue?

A. I doubt it, because of the short-use span of buses.

Q. What about an operating levy?

A. There is no way you can ask the

operate them for massive reassignment. If we really believe in integration and desegregation we have to take some other direction.

Q. For example?

A. Busing to programs. I have said this will work and I continue to believe that. We are continually working on new programs and magnet centers that will attract students from all over the city. That will not create white flight, that will bring people together for at least part of every day.

• • •

We seemed to have come full circle with the reporter mentioning the failure of the courts to accept the magnet school concept.

And Paul Briggs doggedly discussing the failure of busing in places like Houston and Denver. Of indications of the courts softening in some cases.

But there was no softening or backing down by Paul Briggs. Never for a moment did he waiver from his position. It seemed quite clear that he is the man on the hot seat, totally unwilling to get out of the kitchen.

"There is no way you can ask the people of Cleveland to buy buses and operate them for massive reassignment. If we really believe in integration and desegregation we have to take some other direction."

Press
Friday
10-8-76

PA2

Paul Briggs

APPENDIX M

Cleveland Press interview with Paul Briggs
Friday, October 8, 1976